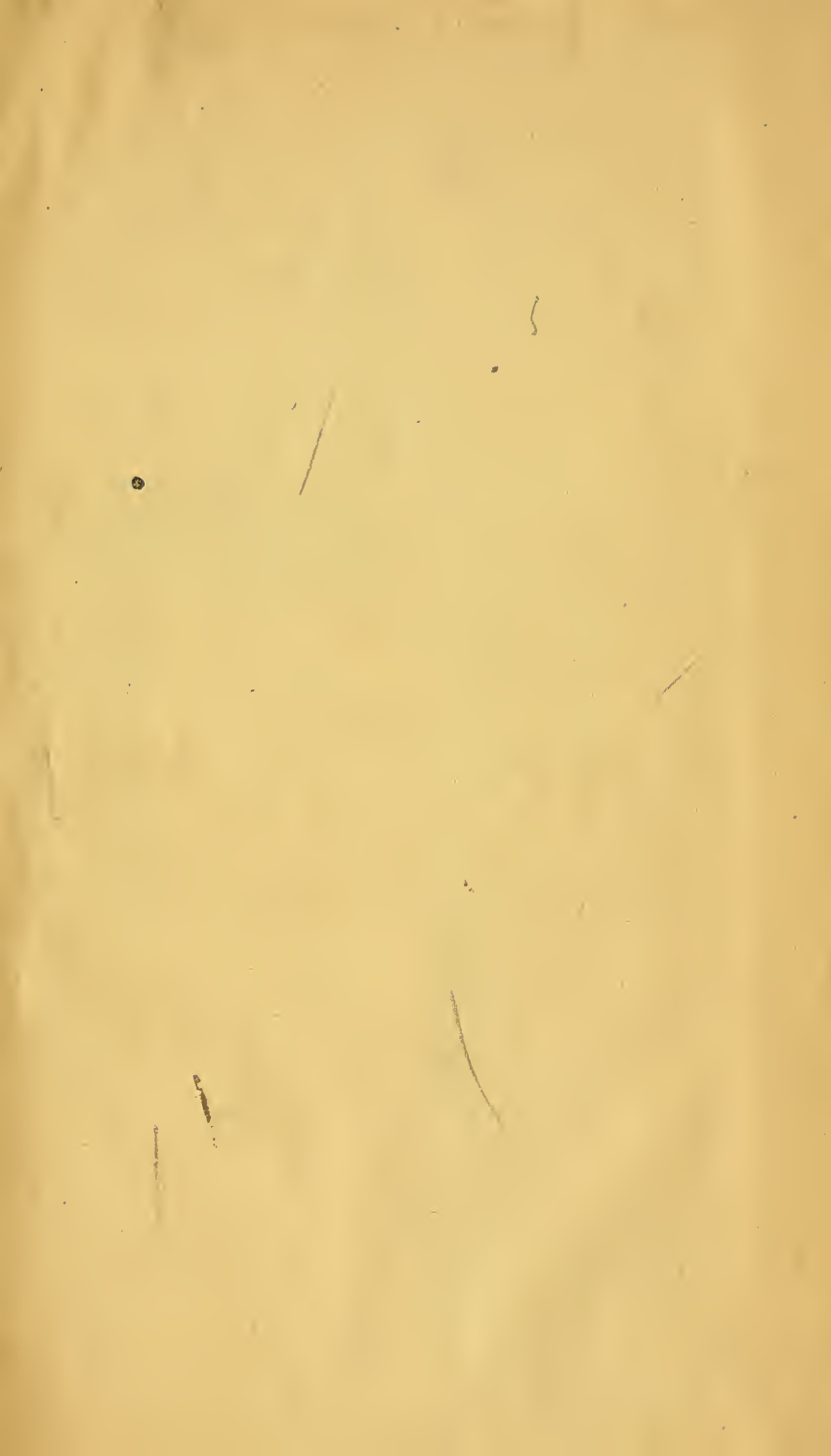


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ANALYSIS

OF

THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON THE

EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY.

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

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LONDON :

*PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT  
THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.*

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1833.



## ANALYSIS, &c.

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ON the 24th of May, 1832, a select Committee of the House of Commons was “appointed to consider and report upon the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies, *and in conformity with the resolutions of this House of the 15th of May, 1823;*” the words in italics being superadded to Mr. Buxton’s resolution, on the motion of Viscount Althorp—162 voting for them, and 90 against them.

The following members were thereupon selected for this Committee, on the proposition of the noble Viscount:—Mr. Buxton, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Sir George Murray, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Burge, Mr. Evans, Viscount Sandon, Viscount Howick, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Marryat, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Holmes, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Baring, Mr. Frankland Lewis, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Carter, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Ord, Mr. Fazakerley, and Mr. Alderman Thompson.

The Committee commenced its sittings on the 6th of June, and closed them on the 11th of August. The following is its report made to the House on that day:—

“Your Committee, in pursuance of the instructions by which they were appointed, having assembled to consider the ‘measures most expedient to be adopted for the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies,’ adverted in the first instance to the condition contained in the terms of reference, which provides that such extinction shall be ‘in con-

formity with the resolutions of the House of the 15th of May, 1823,—that this House at that time looked forward to such a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population as might prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects. The House also then declared 'that it was anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.'

"In the consideration of a question involving so many difficulties of a conflicting nature, and branching into subjects so various and complicated, it appeared necessary to your Committee, by agreement, to limit their direct enquiries to certain heads.

"It was therefore settled that two main points arising out of the terms of reference should be first investigated, and these were embraced in the two following propositions:—

"1st. That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labour.

"2nd. That the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted to the slaves.

"Evidence was first called to prove the affirmative of these propositions, and had been carried on, in this direction, to a considerable extent; and was not exhausted, when it was evident the session was drawing to a close; and that this most important and extensive enquiry could not be satisfactorily finished. At the same time your Committee was unwilling to take an *ex parte* view of the case. It was therefore decided to let in evidence of an opposite nature, intended to disprove the two propositions, and to rebut the testimony adduced in their support. Even this limited examination has not been fully accomplished, and your Committee is compelled to close its labours in an abrupt and unfinished state.

"With some few exceptions the enquiry has been confined to



the island of Jamaica ; and the important question of what is due to 'the fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property,' as connected with emancipation, has not been investigated by your Committee.

"Many incidental topics which your Committee could not leave unnoticed, have presented themselves in the course of this enquiry ; and some opinions have been pronounced, and some expressions used by witnesses, which may seem to be injurious to the character of persons in high stations in the colonies.

"Unwilling to present the evidence in a garbled state, your Committee have resolved not to exclude from their minutes testimony thus implicating the conduct of public functionaries ; but they are bound to impress on the House the consideration which it is just constantly to remember, that no opportunity of contradicting, or explaining, those statements has been afforded to the parties accused ; and evidence of this description must be received with peculiar caution.

"Your Committee, however, are unwilling that the fruits of their enquiry should be altogether lost ; and they present the evidence taken before them to the House, which, although incomplete, embraces a wide range of important information, and discloses a state of affairs demanding the earliest and most serious attention of the legislature."

The minutes of evidence extend to 655 closely printed folio pages, and are contained in a volume ordered to be printed on the 11th of August, 1832, and distinguished by the number 721. Of this immense mass it shall now be our endeavour to convey to the public, and to our readers, a clear and faithful analysis. It may be convenient, however, to preface that analysis by a brief account of the witnesses examined on this occasion, and of their opportunities of acquiring a competent knowledge of the subject on which they were called to give their testimony.

On the AFFIRMATIVE side of the question, as to the EXPEDIENCY of an immediate or early extinction of slavery, the following witnesses were produced, viz.

1. WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq. (p. 7—64), who went to Jamaica in 1816, and left it in 1823. He returned in 1824, left it again in 1825, returned to it in 1826, and quitted it finally in 1831. Of these 15 years he resided during 13 in Jamaica. For the chief part of that time he was engaged in commercial pursuits in Kingston, intermixed with occasional visits to plantations in various parts of the island, viz.—St. Thomas in the East, Trelawny, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and St. George; but, for the last two or three years of his stay, he was wholly occupied in the management of three sugar estates belonging to J. B. Wildman, Esq., cultivated by about six or seven hundred Negroes, lying in Vere, Clarendon, and St. Andrew's, on the last of which, Papine, he chiefly resided.

2. The Rev. JOHN BARRY (p. 64—106), a Wesleyan Missionary, who went to Jamaica early in 1825, and quitted it early in 1832, but whose actual residence there, having been absent about a year, did not exceed six years. These were passed chiefly in Kingston and Spanish Town, but partly also in the parishes of St. Thomas in the Vale, St. Dorothy, St. Mary, Trelawny, St. James, St. David, and St. Thomas in the East.

3. The Rev. PETER DUNCAN (p. 106—134, and p. 140—158) a Wesleyan Missionary, who arrived in Jamaica in January, 1821, and quitted it in March, 1832, after an uninterrupted residence of upwards of eleven years in the parishes of Kingston, St. Thomas in the East, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. James.

4. The Rev. THOMAS COOPER (p. 134—140), a Unitarian Missionary, who, for three years and three months, between 1818 and 1821, resided on a plantation in Hanover parish, Jamaica, belonging to R. Hibbert, Esq.

5. Mr. HENRY LOVING (p. 150—167), a coloured gentleman, a native of Antigua, in which island he resided from his birth, till he paid a visit a few months ago to this country. He was born a slave, but was emancipated when about nine years of age, and has been for some time, and now is, the proprietor and editor of a newspaper published in Antigua, called the Weekly Register.

6. The Rev. JOHN THORP (p. 167—178), a clergyman of the church of England, who resided in Jamaica two years and three months in 1827, 1828, and 1829, as curate to the Rev. Mr. Trew, of St. Thomas in the East.

7. The Rev. WILTSHIRE STANTON AUSTIN (p. 178—195), a clergyman of the church of England, and a native of the West Indies, who resided in Barbadoes, Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam, and occasionally visited some of the other colonies. He quitted the West Indies last in 1824, having resided there for about 14 years after he had attained his 18th year. His father is a proprietor of slaves, whom he is destined to inherit, and whom he was engaged in managing for some years before he entered into the church.

8. Vice-Admiral the Hon. CHARLES FLEMING (p. 195—223, and p. 238—243), who has known the West Indies for 35 years, and has visited them all, with the exception of St. Kitts and Tortola, his residence in the West Indies amounting on the whole to five or six years, more than half of that time, namely, three years, between 1827 and 1830, having been passed at Jamaica, on which station he was Admiral. He has also visited Cuba, the Caraccas, and Hayti.

9. ROBERT SUTHERLAND, Esq. (p. 223—229), a gentleman who had been in the island of Hayti in 1815, and had also resided there during 1819, 1820, and 1821. He passed a few days there in 1823 and 1824, and was there for a few weeks in 1827; and he moreover resided for three years in the Caraccas as a British Consul.

10. The Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL (p. 229—233), a gentleman of colour, a native of the United States, who resided as a Baptist Missionary in various slave states until 1830, when he visited England.

11. The Rev. THOMAS MORGAN (p. 233—242), a Wesleyan Missionary, who had resided in different West India colonies, namely St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, St. Vincent, and Jamaica, from 1812 to 1831, 18 years in all, which, deducting an absence of two years in England, makes his residence there 16 years.

12. The Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB (p. 243—284, and 317—322), a Baptist Missionary, who resided upwards of seven years in Jamaica, namely from 1825 to April 1832, chiefly in the parishes of St. James, Trelawny, Hanover, and Westmoreland.

To prove the INEXPEDIENCY of an early or immediate emancipation of the slaves the following witnesses were produced chiefly by the Colonial party :—

1. Captain C. H. WILLIAMS, of the Royal Navy (p. 390—307), who

passed a few months of the present year in St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, during which time he was on shore three days on the estate of Mr. Huggins,\* of Nevis, and two days on an estate of Mr. Hibbert's, in Hanover, Jamaica.†

2. WILLIAM ALERS HANKEY, Esq., a banker of London (p. 307—317), and late treasurer of the London Missionary Society, who is a proprietor of 300 slaves in the island of Jamaica, but who has never visited the West Indies.

3. JAMES DE PEYSTER OGDEN, a native of New York, in the United States (p. 322—330), who now resides in Liverpool.

4. ROBERT SCOTT, Esq. (p. 330—358), who resided in Jamaica *about* five years between 1802 and 1809, and who, during that time, had either owned as proprietor, or managed as attorney, 4000 slaves in Hanover, Trelawny, St. James, and St. Ann, the latest period of his stay there being 23 years ago.

5. JAMES SIMPSON, Esq. (359—366, and 369—405), who resided in Jamaica nearly 24 years, quitting it finally in 1828. In that time he had been a merchant of Kingston, and the representative of some noblemen and gentlemen, absentee proprietors of plantations situated in Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, St. Thomas in the East, St. Elizabeth, and Hanover, in that island. It was of his house that Mr. William Taylor, whose evidence is analysed in the following pages, was for a time a partner.

6. WILLIAM MIER, Esq. (p. 366—369), a native of the United States, who was the proprietor in Georgia of 500 slaves, whom he has since sold.

7. The Rev. JOHN SHIPMAN (405—416), a Wesleyan Missionary who resided in Jamaica for ten years, from 1813 to 1824, at Kingston, Spanish Town, Falmouth, and Montego Bay, and at Grateful Hill, in St. Thomas in the Vale.

8. The Rev. ROBERT YOUNG (p. 416—428), a Wesleyan Missionary,

\* Of this gentleman, an ample and horrific record will be found in the following parliamentary papers of 1812: viz. No. 204, and No. 225.

† Of this estate a very full account will be found in the pamphlet entitled "Negro Slavery, especially in Jamaica," published by Hatchard in 1824. 4th edition, p. 36—55.



who resided in Jamaica for five years, from 1820 to 1826, chiefly in Kingston and Spanish Town, and at Stony Hill, in St. Andrew's.

9. WILLIAM SHAND, Esq. (p. 428—434; p. 459—484; and p. 542) who was a proprietor and attorney of estates in Jamaica from 1791 to 1826; having resided there 34 years. During that time he had under his charge 18 or 20,000 slaves, residing occasionally in almost every parish in the island. He was also a magistrate, and member of Assembly.

10. BRYAN ADAMS, Esq. (p. 443—452), who had resided in the Caraccas.

11. Mr. JOHN FORD PYKE (p. 452), who had resided in Cuba.

12. WILLIAM WATSON, Esq. (p. 452—459), who had resided in the Caraccas for four years.

13. H. TOWNSEND BOWEN, Esq. (p. 457—459), who had resided 11 years in Trinidad, and returned thence last year.

14. R. G. AMYOT, Esq. (p. 484 and 519), chief clerk in the Registry of Colonial Slaves' Office, in London.

15. SAMUEL BAKER, Esq. (p. 485—498), who had visited Jamaica in 1816 and 1817, and afterwards in 1832.

16. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM (p. 498—501), who is a practising solicitor in Jamaica, where he has neither land nor slaves, but where he has resided for 14 years, namely, from 1818 to 1832.

17. Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES ROWLEY (p. 501—508), who is acquainted with the West Indies generally, and commanded as Admiral on the Jamaica station from 1820 to 1823.

18. JAMES BECKFORD WILDMAN, Esq. (p. 509—542), who is a West India proprietor possessing 640 slaves in Jamaica, on three estates, one in St. Andrew, another in Vere, and a third in Clarendon, of which Mr. Taylor (mentioned above) had for a time the charge. Mr. Wildman resided there from 1825 to 1829, being about four years.

19. Rev. J. TYERS BARRETT, D.D. (p. 544—549), who is secretary to the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves.

20. WILLIAM BURGE, Esq. (p. 549), the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, and now the Agent of that island.

21. JOHN M'GREGOR, Esq. (p. 549), a gentleman who has resided in British America.

The Appendix moreover contains the following evidence :—

A. General Returns of Twelve Sugar Estates in Jamaica from 1817 to 1829 (p. 566—577).

B. Extracts of Reports of the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves (p. 588, 589).

C. Extracts from the examination of Annasamy, a native of Madras residing in the Mauritius (p. 590).

D. Remarks of Captain Elliott, Protector of slaves in Demerara (p. 590).

E. Answers of the same to Questions of Lord Goderich (p. 598).

It has appeared from the report of the Committee that the main points of their enquiry were embraced by the two following propositions, including, in fact, all that Mr. Buxton, in moving for that Committee, had pledged himself, or even thought it necessary to attempt, to prove, viz:—

1. THAT THE SLAVES, IF EMANCIPATED, WILL ADEQUATELY MAINTAIN THEMSELVES BY THEIR OWN LABOUR; and 2nd. THAT THE DANGER OF WITHHOLDING FREEDOM FROM THE SLAVES IS GREATER THAN THAT OF GRANTING IT.

These two propositions, we conceive, the evidence before us has most irrefragably and triumphantly established; and the controversy, therefore, as respects the expediency of an early emancipation, may be considered as decided.\* The justice and humanity of such a measure has long ceased to be a question.

We will abstract the whole of the evidence on these two points in the order in which it is given, omitting however, for the present, all merely

\* At Manchester and at Liverpool, a Mr. Borthwick, in delivering lectures *in favour* of Slavery, took occasion to state that the evidence before the House of Commons was highly favourable to the planters. It was affirmed that it was some proof to the contrary that Mr. Burge, the Agent of Jamaica, had resisted, in the House of Commons, the motion of Sir James Graham, for printing that evidence. On this Mr. Borthwick produced, or pretended to produce, a strong denial of this fact under the hand of Mr. Burge himself, falsifying the statement which had appeared to that effect in the Times of the 7th of August, 1832. The Jamaica Courant however (the oracle of Mr. Burge, and of his constituents, the corresponding committee of the Jamaica Assembly) completely falsifies Mr. Borthwick's statement, and that of Mr. Burge too, if truly represented by Mr. Borthwick; for on the 26th of September, 1832, there appeared in that paper the following paragraph, probably communicated by Mr. Burge himself:—

collateral questions until this first and most important part of our task shall have been completed. We have already introduced the witnesses, who are successively to appear before them, to the notice of our readers, accompanied by a brief view of their respective opportunities of information.

### I.—WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq.

Mr. TAYLOR stated that the six or seven hundred slaves placed under his management by Mr. Wildman belonged to three sugar estates on the south side of the island: one of which was in the parish of St. Andrew, named Papine; another in the parish of Clarendon, named Low Ground; and the third in the parish of Vere, named Salt Savannah. On the two first-mentioned estates the slaves wholly maintained themselves by provisions raised on land allotted for their use, to which was added the usual allowance of pickled fish, being about one salt herring a day for each adult, and half that quantity for each child. The slaves on the estate in Vere were fed chiefly by an allowance of Guinea corn, issued from the granary of the estate. They had grounds besides which they cultivated; but the seasons being adverse in Vere they were chiefly fed by corn grown by the master and issued to them from his stores.\* The ground provisions, which the slaves

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“ *House of Commons, August 6, 1832.*

“ Sir J. Graham moved that the Report of the Committee on West India Slavery be laid on the table of the House.

“ Mr. Burge objected to the motion because the evidence of the planters had not yet been taken, and that of the other party might therefore prejudice the public mind.

“ Sir J. Graham replied that the motion was a matter of course, and that the hon. member had been overruled in every case before the Committee.

“ The motion was then agreed to.”—*Jamaica Courant, Sept. 26, 1832.*

Now even the reason here given for postponing the printing of the evidence is untrue. The *number* of witnesses on the part of the West Indian body is greater than that of the witnesses brought before the Committee by the Anti-Slavery party, and the space occupied by the evidence of the former is not inferior in extent to the space occupied by that of their opponents, being about 290 folio pages to each.

\* This parish, as we shall have occasion to show, is more favourably situated in respect to the circumstances of its slave population than any other parish in

raise for themselves in the other parishes, are chiefly yams, plantains, cocoes or eddoes, potatoes, &c. The slaves are not forbidden by law, as Mr. Taylor thinks, to cultivate the sugar cane, but they incur a penalty by having sugar in their possession.\*

Besides the allowance of herrings given to the slaves, clothes are annually given to them; but the quantity of clothing Mr. Taylor cannot specify. The time allowed them by *law*, for raising the food by which they and their families are supported, is twenty-six days in the year, besides three holidays at Christmas. This arrangement, Mr. Taylor says, has existed since 1816; but he cannot tell what time, for this purpose, the law previously gave to the slaves.†

the island of Jamaica. And yet, will it be believed that there is even here no increase of the slave population, even if we take no account of the number imported into it from neighbouring parishes; the population in 1821 being 7,887, and in 1831, after a lapse of ten years, being only 7,908?

\* Throughout the whole of this examination there is a wonderful ignorance manifested, especially by the planters, of the state of the law by which they and the slaves are governed. If the reader will turn to the latest Jamaica Slave Code, that of the 19th of Feb. 1831,—and in this respect it is only a transcript of preceding codes,—he will find that by the 91st Section of that Act it is enacted, “That, to prevent and punish depredations on produce,” “if any slave shall have in his possession any quantity of sugar, coffee, or pimento, in quantity *not exceeding five pounds*, or of rum *not exceeding one gallon*, unknown to his owner, overseer, or manager, without giving a satisfactory account of how he became possessed of them, such slave, on conviction thereof before *any* magistrate, shall suffer punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and, if there shall be found in his possession a larger quantity than twenty pounds of sugar, coffee, or pimento, or five gallons of rum, then such slave, upon conviction thereof at a slave court, shall suffer such punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict or direct, not extending to life, transportation, or imprisonment for life.” Well, therefore, may West Indians gravely testify to the unwillingness of the slaves to grow sugar, and well may Mr. Taylor testify to the infrequency of the culture of sugar by slaves. He had never heard of its being cultivated but in Manchester, where alone he has seen it voluntarily cultivated by slaves, and where also he has seen small sugar-mills in the Negroes’ gardens—“but that,” he adds, “is to be accounted for, because there they are at a distance from a sugar district.” Report, p. 7, 8. See this matter further illustrated in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. v., No. 101, p. 269.

† Before 1816 the law was as follows (See Privy Council Report of 1789,



The younger Negroes on Mr. Wildman's estates had never received any instruction prior to his visiting Jamaica for the first time in 1825. This was done in consequence of the express injunctions of Mr. Wildman himself. The adults now receive no education whatever. As to the capacity of the slaves for receiving instruction, they were much like other human beings ; some were apt, and others very stupid, and some remarkably acute. He could not say they were equally apt with the Scottish peasantry ; but their circumstances were disadvantageous in a peculiar degree, and in spite of these he had seen, in a multitude of instances, a wonderful aptness for instruction. There appeared in them no natural incapacity whatever for instruction. He had been struck with the retentiveness and minuteness of their memories, and especially in the children.

With respect to the provident or improvident use of money, he thought them pretty much like the peasantry of other countries, but considerably less given to intoxication than the peasantry of Scotland, and infinitely less than the soldiery who go out to the colonies, the mortality among whom is attributed to their fondness for spirits. There were on the estates some Negroes who would not touch spirits, while others were incorrigible drunkards. Any money he paid the Negroes at any time for wages was generally expended in the purchase of food (page 9, 10).

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Part iii. ; Laws of Jamaica, Act of 1788, section 17) :—" And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island to allow their slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds (exclusive of Sundays), *except* during the time of crop, but the same *not* being compulsory, be it further enacted, that the slaves belonging to or employed in every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the usual holidays, be allowed one day in every fortnight (exclusive of Sundays) *except* during the time of crop, under the penalty of £10." This grant of time, crop lasting from four to six months, could not have been more than from thirteen to seventeen days. The dreadful mortality from hunger at that period, as shown by a memorial of the Jamaica Assembly printed in the same Privy Council Report, sufficiently proves how necessary it was to make even this scanty allowance of time compulsory. Fifteen thousand slaves are stated by the Assembly to have perished from hunger, and the diseases consequent on hunger, in a very short time, simply because the little time allowed the slave obliged him to limit his growth of provisions to plantains, which the first hurricane was sure to sweep from the face of the earth,

Mr. Taylor had known many free blacks and people of colour: they form a numerous body. There are among them many, especially mulattoes and quadroons, the children of white book-keepers and overseers, who have been emancipated; but the great mass of them have been born free, being the children of emancipated slaves. The great increase of their number arises from births in a state of freedom. In the neighbourhood of Papine, some of these free people who had been emancipated, unable to find adequate employment as mechanics in the town of Kingston, had fixed themselves at a place called Cavaliers, belonging to Mr. Wildman, which was parcelled out to them in small patches of one, two, or three acres, for which, with a house upon it, they undertook to pay thirty shillings an acre. The run of land called Cavaliers was let by Mr. Wildman to one tenant, and by him sub-let in smaller portions, Mr. Wildman finding it difficult and troublesome to collect the repts. The tenant-in-chief cultivated a part of the land by means of free Negroes, to whom he paid wages, and the rest he sub-let. The number thus located might be from 200 to 300, men, women, and children. The cultivation consisted generally of provisions, as corn and yams, with some coffee. He had never seen any sugar cultivation there, though there were sugar estates in the district, and sugar would grow any where. Of the settlers he knew nothing personally. Some he believed were orderly, and some disorderly; and it was the haunt of many bad characters and runaways. The settlement he believed was in a bad state, both morally and religiously, for they had no religious instruction, and no education. A school was latterly established among them by the Church Missionary Society, which was readily supported by some of the settlers; but others scoffed at it, and would have nothing to do with it. It might be the duty of the incumbent of the parish to afford them instruction, but he lived sixteen miles off. Mr. Taylor had further known free blacks employ themselves in working on wharfs, and at cranes, and as domestics. He had one servant himself as a slave for ten years, who continued with him after he had manumitted him. Others were employed as mechanics on estates, and others as sailors in coasting vessels, and as stewards of ships. He had met with a great number of them who were very industrious, and who gladly availed themselves of any opportunity of being employed in any way. On the other hand he had met

with free blacks who would not work at all, just as in other communities. He had only known one case of an emancipated slave working on a sugar estate in making sugar. Mr. Wildman discovered that one of his slaves had been born in England; and, conceiving that he could have no right to hold him in slavery, he very honourably, in spite of the protestations of his colonial friends, when he first went out to Jamaica, determined on making him amends for the services unjustly exacted from him for thirty years. He gave him, though he was addicted to drinking, a right of residence on his estate, hired him as a carpenter, and appointed 2s. 6d. a day to be paid him, whether he worked or not. When Mr. Taylor entered on the management of the estate he thought it wrong, as it respected the man himself, to let him go on in this manner. He therefore let him understand that when he got drunk his pay should be stopped for that day. The consequence was he gradually left off drinking, and he worked and made up money. Sometimes he would have a drunken fit, and at other times, for weeks and months together, would remain steadily at labour. Under this system he worked very well as a carpenter, and even took his turn of duty in the boiling house.

He had never known an instance of a free black taking the hoe, and working in the field with the gang, or in the boiling house; but he had known slaves to work for wages in their extra time on sugar estates. Soon after he took charge of Papine, a long line of fence was to be made between that and the Duke of Buckingham's estate, formed by a trench of four feet deep, with a mound thrown up. It is usual to do such labour by task work, at so many feet a day. The labourers complained that they could not perform it in the usual hours of labour. The overseer on the other hand affirmed that they were imposing upon Mr. T., and it was solely owing to sloth that they did not easily get through their task. The overseer wished of course to get as much work as he could, and *they* had naturally an indisposition to do more than they could help. They were told to resume their work the following morning, and, if they performed it within the time, they should be paid for every minute's or hour's additional work they might perform. They began the task at five in the morning, and had finished it by half-past one, and the very slaves who had before complained, received pay for four hours' extra labour. At present all the negroes in the field perform their labour under the fear

or impulse of the lash. Physical coercion is employed on every estate in the island to obtain labour from slaves. By banishing the use of the whip, Mr. Taylor found that discipline was necessarily relaxed. This coercion is necessary with slaves in all kinds of labour. The carpenter or cooper knows that if he does not go to his shop and do his work he will be flogged. In short it was necessary, in order to induce the Negroes to work, either to pay them or to flog them. It was possible, however, to conduct the business of an estate without much flogging. Still it was the terror of the lash which produced the labour. On the estate next to Papine (Hope Estate, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham), the driver certainly carried the whip into the field, but for many months it has not been used, the negroes going on, nevertheless, most diligently with their work. But this disuse of the whip had been produced by the previous use of it. The overseer, when he first took charge of that estate, found the Negroes disposed to resist him, and the whip for a time was "most freely and strongly used," and this, Mr. Taylor thinks, not from any motive of cruelty, but from a belief that "it was the only way to establish his authority." He used the whip most freely, and this free use it was that produced the subsequent disuse\* (pages 11 and 12).

With the exception of labouring in the workhouse chain, and cleaning the streets of towns, field labour is viewed by slaves as the most degrading occupation. It is considered, for example, a degrading punishment to send a household servant to the field. Many humane persons prefer doing so to flogging them. The labour of cultivating sugar is not more degrading than other field labour, but it is much more severe. "Cane-hole digging is fearfully severe," especially in certain soils. There are other field occupations that are light. Comparing the West Indian slave with the Scotch labourer, he thought cane-hole digging more exhausting than digging potatoes, or reaping corn, or following the plough. If the Scotchman had been digging, and the Negro had been cleaning young canes, the Scotchman would have done the hardest work; but if the Scotchman had been reaping or mowing, and the Negro had been digging cane-holes, then the Negro would have done

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\* The stimulus was still the brutal one of either the infliction or the fear of the lash.



the hardest work. Taking the labour of the whole year through, certainly the labour of the Jamaica slave was infinitely harder than that of the Scotch peasant, because the former has the night work in crop time, when for at least four months of the year he has only six hours' rest; whereas the Scotchman goes to bed every night throughout the year in good time. Besides this, the Negro works each day a greater length of time than the Scotchman, but the Scotchman puts more work out of hand. The proportion of time consumed in cane-hole digging varies very much in different parts of the island, according to the comparative fertility of the soil; on less fertile soils a third of the cane land requiring to be re-dug every year, and, on very fertile soils, not more than a tenth, or fifteenth, or twentieth part (p. 12, 13). The labour of the slaves is often so exhausting that the overseer is obliged to give them a week's rest to recruit their strength, by setting them to clean pastures, and other light work.

Mr. Taylor, being asked whether the stimulus of the whip, at present the only stimulus, being withdrawn, and the Negro made free, he thought he would be likely to work industriously for adequate wages, replied that, if the Negro was placed in a situation where he must starve or work, he would work. If in the present state of things he were to be told, Keep your provision ground, and keep your house, and come and work for a shilling or other sum a day, he would say, I will not do it; for I can make more by working my grounds. But if the grounds were taken away, and he must understand that he must starve or work, he would work. The consideration by which in the case of freemen the matter would be governed would be this, whether it were most profitable to receive wages, or to rent land and raise produce upon it. If put into a situation where the fear of want would bear upon him, and the inducement to work was plain, then he would work. He drew this opinion partly from his knowledge of emancipated slaves, but chiefly from his knowledge of the slaves under his own care, among whom the good preponderated far above the bad. He found them like the Scottish peasantry, fulfilling all the relations of life. He found them revering the ordinance of marriage. He found them, particularly on the Vere estate, an orderly and industrious people; and he was strongly impressed with the opinion that, if placed in the circumstances of the English or Scottish peasantry, they would act similarly. They

were, generally speaking, very industrious in labouring on their provision grounds. It was a frequent practice to work for one another for hire, the hire being 20*d.* currency a day (14*d.* sterling), and a breakfast. Mr. Wildman indulged his Negroes with fifty-two Saturdays in the year, instead of twenty-six, the number allowed them by law, that they might be able to attend divine service, and have no excuse for continuing to work on Sunday. This gave them additional time; and as Mr. T. had a large garden, and was very unwilling to draw from the labour of the estate to keep it in order, he was frequently in the habit of hiring them to work there. Some would come and offer their services, for which he gave them their breakfast and 2*s.* 11*d.* a day currency, being 2*s.* 1*d.* sterling. He was decidedly of opinion that, when an offer was made to pay Negroes for their labour, they were always ready to work. He had known them, even when digging cane-holes, perform the task of 120 cane-holes, and, on being offered pay, dig 20 and 40 cane-holes, after having finished their task. But, by the ordinary method, the same quantity would not have been dug except by tremendous whipping. Ninety cane-holes indeed on unploughed land was the general task; but 120 if the land had previously been loosened by the plough. The farther exertion, however, produced by the stimulus of wages was such that the driver said it was too much for them, and begged Mr. Taylor to interdict their doing so much. At the end of the week almost every slave had done so much extra work as to receive 3*s.* 4*d.*, which he paid them, according to agreement. If they had worked in the usual way under the whip they might have finished 120 holes in the course of the day, barely completing it at the end of the day; but if told that, if they did the same work, they might as soon as it was done go away, they would, by abridging their intervals of rest, finish it before three o'clock in the afternoon, beginning at five in the morning" (p. 14, 15).

Much the same quantity of labour, Mr. Taylor further remarked, was usually required from all in the great gang. They all usually worked in one line, and where the land was uniform produced the same number of holes, and the women the same as the men. By giving them, however, task work, and wages for extra work, he got the greatest quantity of work their physical strength was equal to. He got much more work, and it was cheerfully done. In general he found them willing to work in their extra time, for hire; he spoke only of Mr. Wild-

man's slaves. Task work indeed was very generally resorted to, planters thinking that in that way the Negro did his work in a much shorter time. At the same time he was convinced that a mixed system of slavery with its unavoidable expences, and free labour with its wages, would not answer in the long run. He conscientiously believed that if slavery were put an end to, and the slaves emancipated, it would answer to the proprietor. So entirely was he convinced of this that he offered to embark his whole property in purchasing Mr. Wildman's estates, making the slaves free, and adopting the system of free labour, and undertaking the expense of maintaining the schools established by Mr. Wildman, provided he could prevail on a few others to join him. He was now, however, of opinion, from further reflection, that it would have been disadvantageous to have had freedom on one estate and slavery on the next,—to have had freedom on Mr. Wildman's estates, and slavery on the adjoining estates of Mr. Goulburn, in Vere, and the Duke of Buckingham's in St. Andrew, and Mr. Mitchell's in Clarendon. This chequered system would not answer; though he firmly believed that if the plan were supported by due authority, and the slaves were to receive adequate remuneration for their labour, the majority of them would work, and the plan would succeed. He admitted that if a herald were at once to proclaim freedom in Spanish Town, in unqualified terms, to all slaves, anarchy and confusion might be the result. But, by proceeding cautiously, and previously providing the means of restraint, and, above all, by making it known to the slave that it was the King's pleasure that he should still labour when he became free, and if the planters concurred in using this language, so as to remove all idea that the King and his master were at variance, the freedom of the slaves might be safely, and easily, and even profitably accomplished. He wished to draw a broad line of distinction between freedom indefinitely conferred, and freedom accompanied by effective contemporaneous arrangements, even stronger laws than are now in force, but laws equally affecting all;—strong regulations of police, which should punish vagrancy, and secure to the slave an adequate return for his labour. The police of the agricultural districts in Jamaica now consists of the attorney and the overseer of the estate, the book-keepers under him, and lastly, the drivers, who are usually slaves: the attorney and the overseer corresponding to the justice of the peace in England, and the drivers

to constables. On each estate there is now its prison-house: there are also bilboes and other instruments of correction, which are employed by the overseer, &c., for restraint and punishment. Now, in removing this system, a stipendiary magistracy and a constabulary force must be instituted. In this way, by dividing the island into small districts, with a stipendiary magistrate well instructed in the law, not an ignorant planter unacquainted with the law, and a constabulary force under his orders, tranquillity, it appeared to him, would be maintained. The *only* difficulty would be the expense. As to the facility of obtaining labour in these circumstances, the well disposed and industrious would be guided entirely by the profit to be derived from it in choosing their employment; it would be a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. If the men are paid they will work. Evil doers indeed might not submit to the regular industry of a sugar plantation, especially if they could acquire land of their own. Throughout the island there are little colonies of free labourers. How they got their land he did not know, he supposed by purchase. At present many free persons, who would object on the present system to working on a sugar estate, work on wharfs, in towns, or on board ship, or as domestics, and sometimes by connecting themselves with female slaves on estates, are domiciled in the negro villages, and occupy themselves in tilling the land allowed to their wives by the owners of the estates. He admitted that in all cases much would depend on the character of individuals, and there might be many who would not be uniformly industrious, and there would also in many be a strong disposition to seize the lightest and easiest work, and in whom the love of ease might be stronger than the love of gain. They could not, however, obtain land but by grant from the crown, or by purchase from individuals; and from three to five acres, according to the quality, would be required to maintain himself, his wife, and a family of children of the ordinary size. Many of them, in this way also, besides providing comfortable food and clothing, would be induced to better their condition and to acquire what may be termed the luxuries of life. Mr. Taylor came to this conclusion, from the conviction he had that many of the present slaves, judging from the general style of their houses, and clothes, and furniture, had a keen relish for the comforts of life; many even of the field Negroes studying great neatness and cleanliness, and even making attempts at style in their



houses and furniture, using plates and other conveniences of that sort, and even wearing shoes on Sundays, being ashamed to go to church without them, but carrying them in their hands like the peasant women in Scotland, and putting them on when they drew near the church : but though they did not walk in their shoes, they did not walk barefoot ; they wore sandals. All these articles of use, or show, or luxury, were got entirely by their own labour. Mr. Taylor spoke of many of the slaves, especially on Mr. Wildman's estates, as thus acting. On these estates the respectable part of the slaves, the head men, had property of that description, consisting of mahogany furniture, glass decanters, wine, beds, bedsteads, and pictures, acquired not by the gift of their master, or of one another, but the fruit, as he must infer, of their own labour. In the parish of Vere particularly, the Negroes were well off, much better than in St. Andrew and Clarendon. Their dress was different : at the church service in Vere, he was struck with the expensiveness of their dress ; the women were dressed in muslins, and Leghorn bonnets ; and the men in trowsers, and broad-cloth coats. One day he remarked the difference to one of the head people on Papine, the St. Andrew estate, and received from him this explanation :—"Vere is a great corn country, and in consequence of the supply of corn furnished by the master, they rear large quantities of poultry, and on the market day hucksters come from Kingston by sea, and a considerable trade is carried on by this means, for the supply of Kingston and the shipping in its harbour with poultry ; and when a good season comes, as they are then enabled to raise food enough from their own grounds, they save up their allowance of corn from the master, and with that corn rear large quantities of poultry." In Clarendon and St. Andrew the slaves of Mr. Wildman were poor, as compared with those in Vere. This appeared to arise from the sugar district in Clarendon being remote from any market, being sixteen miles from the coast, and twenty miles from Spanish Town. The slaves, therefore, could not turn their provisions into money. The Negroes said they had enough to eat, but could not convert the food into money. In Clarendon, the principal productions are cocoas and other ground provisions ; of these they have abundance, but they cannot be applied to the same purposes as the corn of Vere, and, moreover, they have not the same command of a market. In St. Andrew it is better



than in Clarendon, but not so good as in Vere, because the soil is not so fertile as in Vere; but the locality as to a market is more favourable than that of Clarendon, Kingston being only six or seven miles distant. On most of the estates throughout the island, the prescribed quantity of clothing is given to the slaves, and their grounds supply abundance of provisions, even where there are no markets near, where they can realize money; but slave-coopers may make money by working at their trade in their own time, viz. on Sundays and their twenty-six days besides, making pails and other articles; and slave-carpenters and masons by executing jobs about other people's houses (pages 18, 19, 20). Still he admitted that in many cases there were great poverty and misery (page 19, question 142).

There are some estates, Mr. Taylor further stated, on which slaves are allowed to have cattle running on their owner's property, and which they sold occasionally, but that that is not a general case.—p. 20.

At one time, Mr. Taylor observed, there was a strong impression on the minds of the slaves of St. Andrew that they were about to be made free. This arose from the House of Assembly, in 1830, having given to the free black and coloured people of the Colony the civil rights and privileges enjoyed by the whites. There was consequently excited among them in that parish an intense desire of freedom; and being told that many of the slaves on Papine were overheard speaking of its approach, he sent for a respectable Negro, belonging to that estate, and spoke to him on the subject of their paying for their cottages and lands by a rent arising from wages, for which they should give a certain quantity of their labour in return. He said that he thought they would be well off in such a case. The Negro said, "Sir, suddenly to take our lands would not do. It would be better for us to have our lands and our houses, taking that as part of our hire." And certainly, if they got a fair return for their labour, Mr. Taylor thinks that they could afford to pay rent.—He also sent for a Negro from Vere, and his statement was that they did not expect freedom, but only the privilege of additional days for themselves. He also sent for another from Clarendon; but in that remote parish, away from the busy part of the island, the rumour had not been heard, and the matter was not thought of. The desire of freedom was very prevalent among domestics as well as field-slaves. He had known persons, especially in sickness and old age, indifferent to freedom, and the

head man on an estate may be indifferent to it, but that is not the case generally. He could point out a head-driver, living on an estate where his privileges and means of acquiring property were great, and who, considering freedom as the being turned out upon the open savannah,\* said he would rather forego his freedom. Most of the cases of manumission he had known were among domestic slaves, and among them also most of the applications for manumission occurred; but he does not know that this is owing to a more intense desire of, but simply to greater facilities of acquiring, freedom; they therefore aim at it; but generally throughout the island, the slaves of all classes are anxious to obtain their liberty. The exceptions are the aged invalid Negro, who has survived all his relations, and has a kind and wealthy master, or the driver, whose appointments and allowances are good, who is led to connect with the idea of freedom expulsion from the community in which he lives and from office. If his office could be made to consist with freedom, he would not refuse it; but if he thought he was to be forcibly dispossessed of his house, and driven from his family, and sent out a vagabond upon the face of the earth, much as he might value freedom, he would not like it on those conditions. Though there may thus be individual exceptions, yet decidedly, as a body, the slaves are desirous of liberty. He knew of no body of slaves who would be unwilling to exchange slavery for freedom; he had never heard of freedom being tendered to a body of slaves and refused. He could not even call to mind one instance of a slave having had his freedom offered and refusing it, but he could call to mind almost hundreds of instances where pressing applications had been made for freedom by slaves, with applications to himself for money to enable them to buy it (p. 21, 22).

On Mr. Wildman's estates the slaves had privileges that were very peculiar. They had, for the most part, in addition to the twenty-six week-days allowed by law during the year, every Saturday as it came round out of crop, and *in* crop every second Saturday, and every alternate week in crop the half of Saturday, besides which no night work was permitted on his estates during crop. His object was to give them a full share of rest and sleep, and to preserve Sunday, at least as far as he could, perfectly inviolate. Their children too were educated, and the

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\* So doubtless it was represented to him by those who knew better.

women were exempted from flogging. He would positively have discharged any overseer who he knew had done so; and even with the men he went on the principle of having no corporal punishment: but in spite of him, and of Mr. Wildman also, the whip was still used. The whip appeared to the overseers to be essential, in some way or other, to the maintenance of order. In one instance on Salt Savannah, it took place contrary to Mr. Taylor's own express orders. Mr. Taylor admits that it would be impossible to manage an estate on the present system without the whip at one time or another: it may not be necessary to be *always* using it; but it is essential to order and to labour, as a stimulus which must be brought to act, either immediately or remotely. He conceived that labour must have some stimulus, and this was the only one applied, because the only one permitted by the state of things in Jamaica. On his entering into the charge of Mr. Wildman's estates, there was an understanding that, on his part, the estates were to be managed on a moderate and humane system, or he would have nothing to do with them; and, on Mr. Wildman's, that Mr. Taylor would conform to his mode of management, or he would have nothing to do with Mr. Taylor. The principle, therefore, on which he went, and from which he never receded, was, that the pecuniary interest of the master was to be secondary to the better interests and well-being of the slave; but Mr. Taylor found that it was quite impossible to work the existing system on that principle. There was a want of a stimulus which he could use. That which alone he had, he could not, and would not use. He accordingly wrote Mr. Wildman a letter, to intimate to him that he was disappointed in all his expectations, and that he found that the system would not work on the principle of humanity, and that it required a harsh and coercive principle. His neighbours advanced before him, simply because they could and did use a power which he would not make use of. This letter was written in October, 1830; the following is an extract from it:—"I must now advert to the subject on which you have remarked in your last letter, namely, the civil condition of your Negroes. I cannot refrain from being explicit on the subject; my mind has been unceasingly harassed by it. The retrospect, too, of the months which have passed since your departure, only confirms me in my opinions. I do not think that your estates can possibly be made to yield, under the combined system of religion, humanity, and slavery.

There is in the latter, as it exists in Jamaica, a repugnance to unite with the two former. By *our* system we take away the motive which leads to labour on the neighbouring estates,—that is, the dread of the lash : and we cannot substitute that which makes the English labourer industrious, namely, the fear of want ; for the law of Jamaica compels the slave proprietor to feed his slave, to clothe him, and to house him, whatever the conduct of that slave may be.\* True it is he may flog him and imprison him,—but *there* our principles come in and prevent ; for the first we turn away from, and the latter is a clumsy and dreadful means of compelling obedience ; so that, between the two, the discipline is relaxed. Your people are certainly quiet, and generally well conducted ; but I am at the same time obliged to say that less work, I think, is produced under our moderate and mild system than under the harsh methods used by the majority of planters. The want is that of a motive. After much anxious thought on the subject, I have come to the conclusion that THE ONLY EFFECTUAL remedy is emancipation. We are, I conceive, in a strait: we must either go on to the ultimate measure of freedom, or go back (which would appear to be impossible, as well as inhuman) to the use of brute coercion. In the middle state we are perplexed and retarded in our operations, simply because there is not a sufficient stimulus. A labourer says he will not work : in England instant dismissal is the consequence : in Jamaica, instant flogging follows.—Now, dismiss a labourer, I cannot ;—flog him, I will not.”

In short, Mr. Taylor goes on to state, we must either have an extinction of slavery, or be content to go on with the harsh and barbarous system which now prevails. We must stimulate the slave to labour either by the fear of want, or by the lash. In Jamaica you feed and clothe him whether he works or not, but if he will not work you flog him. If it had not been for the law of Jamaica, Mr. Taylor thinks he could have worked upon him by other motives ; but the law required him to swear every quarter that he had provided him with food and clothing ; and therefore, unless he committed perjury, he had no hold upon him but the lash. He believed in the first instance that he should have succeeded in his plan mentioned before (see p. 325) of buying these estates, after the plan

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\* Mr. Taylor must mean of course the conscientious slave proprietor, who feels bound not to violate the law.



of a modified slavery had failed ; but he was misled by his strong wish to try the experiment, and by the warm regard he felt for the slaves over whom he had been placed. He saw that there were immense difficulties in the way, in the then state of things, but he hoped they might be overcome ; and at any rate he was so disgusted with what he was engaged in, and so anxious to make the experiment, that he proposed, had he got any others to join him, to purchase the three estates, to manumize the Negroes belonging to them, who were connected with each other by family ties, and to work them as free labourers, hoping to be supported in his plan by the local authorities. He could prevail on no one to join him. Still he made the proposal for one of the estates, but it was not accepted. Difficulties of various kinds might have arisen, but these would have been much fewer had the whole slave population been manumitted, and the government of this country been resolutely determined to preserve order. He had no fear whatever that the slaves would become unsettled, or turn vagrants, for he never saw any disposition in the negro mind to vagrancy. A Negro who has his house and grounds will never wander, or run away, but from very bad treatment. A man who has no ties on the estate, no family ties, will desert on receiving ill treatment ; but a head Negro, or even a respectable field Negro who has his house and his land, his wife and his children, will bear a great deal of ill treatment before he will run away, Very few return into the woods as compared with the whole population. On one estate he recollects 25 men deserting at a very critical time of the year, in the season of planting ; but it was because the overseer had treated them infamously. They watched their opportunity and withdrew into the woods when their services were most required. The proprietor of the estate happened to arrive on the island at the time, and they instantly returned. The overseer was dismissed, and another put in his room, and the Negroes never went away afterwards. It would be difficult to say that they have the *same* ties to home as the English labourer, their situations being so unlike ; but still they have many strong ties to home. If a gang of Negroes is bought or sold, it is with the greatest difficulty they can be moved, and often the civil power must be called in to force them : some are sent to the workhouse, and the rest are terrified into submission. Mr. Taylor remembered an instance where a large estate was broken up and the Negroes sold in separate gangs,



and one gang they had great difficulty in moving; it was at last moved about 25 miles. About eight months after, their new owner died, and, he not having paid for them, they had to be moved again, when the difficulty was as great as before (p. 24, 25).

Mr. Taylor, in reply to another series of questions, stated that the law allows twenty-six week-days in the year, exclusive of Sundays and the usual (three) holidays, for his provision grounds; and by this allowance of time, together with his Sundays, the Negro in Jamaica maintains himself and his family. Multitudes of them consume their Sundays in their grounds and in going to market. Besides this they have half an hour each day for breakfast, and two hours' interval in the middle of the day. During that last interval many work on their own account in their grounds or gardens, or in other matters; the half hour for breakfast is usually consumed in rest in the field, often in the shade of a tree. He cannot say how much labour in the year is sufficient to enable a slave to satisfy his wants and those of his family, nor how much land he requires for that purpose. But he knows that to a great extent they cultivate their grounds and go to market on Sunday; but he cannot affirm that working all Sunday is universal. If, however, a Negro were to devote his Sundays to repose he certainly could not maintain himself and his family; and, in fact, by the great majority of them, Sunday is generally consumed in their grounds or in marketing. If they strictly observed the Sunday, having only their twenty-six week-days, it would not be sufficient; and even near the Missionary stations he remembered that the ministers complained that on certain Sundays the slaves never could attend service, and they had no congregation of them.—It was not the nature of the slaves' work, with the exception of cane-hole-digging, but the duration of it, of which they had to complain. As for cane-hole digging, it was so hard that he had heard overseers of plantations state as the chief objection to freedom that they never could get cane-holes dug by free men. And certainly they could not at the common rate of labour: it would require an immense inducement. The slaves will certainly do much more for themselves than when they work for their masters. Even when performing task-work, they are different beings. A Negro will lift a load for himself which it would require a severe flogging to make him lift for his master. He had seen them travelling to market, groaning under a load of hard

wood timber which no overseer could make them carry. But the inducement was great: they were sure to get a high price for it, and they were labouring for themselves. He had often observed them, after working for their masters, and for their own maintenance, prolong their work to procure some little indulgences. Whenever they could contrive by task-work, or other arrangements, to obtain any extra time, their grounds were crowded with them, labouring for their own benefit. They cannot, therefore, be said to be an indolent race, or incapable of being actuated by the motives by which labour is generally prompted. His own experience assured him of the contrary. He admitted that the propensity of the Negro, as of all men in warm climates, was to indolence; but, whenever the hope of pecuniary advantage could be brought to bear on this indolence, it was powerfully counteracted. He was well acquainted with the inhabitants of Scotland, and he had never known an intelligent and well-instructed Scotchman who would work hard without an inducement; but, for the same motive of personal advantage, the Negro might most decidedly be induced to work to an immense extent. Having tried the experiment of voluntary labour for wages in his own garden, the man who most frequently applied for employment was the most idle and worthless man on the estate. The steady Negroes were far less willing to work in his garden, having large and well cultivated grounds of their own; while this fellow had neglected his ground and had therefore no temptation to go to it, and was glad therefore to be employed in the garden, or he would collect a little fruit, or procure some billets of wood, and carry them to Kingston market, converting them into cash. This man, more frequently than any other, came to work in the garden the whole day till four o'clock, and he then took his 2s. 11d. of hire and proceeded to Kingston to convert the money into comforts; while the other Negroes were unwilling to do so, it being more profitable to go to their own grounds—thus decidedly showing their judgment in discriminating as to the kind of labour that would reward them best and selecting that. In fact the Negroes are far from being the rude uncultivated barbarians they are sometimes represented to be. The estimate in this country of their character is a great deal too low. He himself had no notion of it till he was called to manage those estates; and he had been ten years in the island and was

still in great ignorance of the agricultural labourers of Jamaica; and he then found that far too low an opinion had been formed (and this he declared to many in Jamaica) of their state of civilization. The Negroes who worked in his garden worked diligently, because he discharged them if they did not. The idle man, who was the chief labourer, was well watched by the gardener, and if slothful was sent away. The fear of this operated to produce application as the fear of the whip did in the field. Working in his garden was however less hard than digging cane holes (p. 25, 26, 27).

Mr. Taylor was here asked a very important question: "How many hours a day, upon the average, is a slave engaged in the work of his master?" He was unable to answer this question with any precision, having never acted in the lower grades of plantership, either as book-keeper or overseer.\* But though Mr. Taylor cannot specify the exact

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\* As Mr. Taylor could not trust to his recollection to answer this question, it may be expedient at once to refer to the infallible authority, not of an obsolete statute, but the latest slave law on this subject, namely, the Act of 19th February, 1831, clause 22:—"And be it further enacted that every field slave on any plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slave shall be compelled to any manner of *field work* upon the plantation before the hour of *five in the morning*, or *after the hour of seven at night*, except during the time of crop, under the penalty not exceeding fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the charge of such slaves."

The overseer, therefore, is by this, the only existing law on the subject, empowered to compel the labour of the slaves in the field, whether they be men, women, or children, on all work days, from five in the morning till seven in the evening, being fourteen solid hours, with intervals of two hours and a half, leaving the actual field labour to which the slaves, male and female, are compellable to submit, at the immoderate amount of ELEVEN HOURS AND A HALF on each work day throughout the year. But then crop time, which lasts from four to six months in the year, is exempted even from this limitation; and there is no extent of exaction short of absolute cruelty, and not bounded by the physical powers of the human animal, which this apparently slight and parenthetic provision may not vindicate. This enactment, too, is not an act of inconsideration on the part of the Jamaica legislature. It stands thus in every successive version of it from 1788 downwards. It stood in their disallowed act of 1826 in precisely the same words, and was thus commented upon by Mr. Huskisson in

but varying duration of the slave's labour for his master, upon one fact involved in it he speaks without any doubt or hesitation, and that is, that the *women* are employed the same number of hours with the men,

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his Despatch of the 22nd September, 1827 :—"The provisions for the prevention of excessive labour contemplate the working of the slaves for eleven hours and a half daily out of crop, and place no limit on the continuance of the work during crop time. Considering the climate in which the labour is to be performed, and that after the work of the field there will yet remain many offices to be done not falling within the proper meaning of the term 'labour' (he should have said field labour), I should fear that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by law, would be scarcely consistent with the health of the labourer." Mr. Huskisson might well say so, as the murderous tendency of the whole system of slave labour in Jamaica abundantly testifies, by the debility and death of its victims, by the arrest of the prolific powers of the female slaves, and by the frightful waste of the whole slave population.

Now, in the insolent reply of the Assembly to Mr. Huskisson's Despatch, drawn up by the very Mr. Barrett who is now a delegate from Jamaica to uphold this cruel code, as it is given in the papers printed by command in 1828, Mr. Barrett seems at some loss to parry or evade the above conclusive observations of the Secretary of State. His reply is a rare example of shuffling dexterity. It is as follows :—"Mr. Huskisson fears that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by the disallowed law, would be scarcely consistent with a due regard to the health of the labourer. Negroes do not exert themselves at work like Europeans. They seldom fatigue themselves, and it is common for them to travel many miles or to dance the entire night after the longest day's labour. It is believed by the House of Assembly that labourers work much harder and longer in Great Britain, and are rewarded with a smaller share of the necessaries and comforts of existence."

The daring insolence, the unblushing falsehood, and the unfeeling levity of such a statement, on so grave a subject, and with a wasting population around them, is quite characteristic of the Jamaica Assembly. Yet Mr. Huskisson did not do justice to the cause he advocated. He was not aware of half the exactions to which, under the shelter of this artfully framed and most insidious enactment, the slave might be subjected. There is no limitation but to work in the field, none to grass collecting for the cattle after the work of the field is over, none to the onerous duties of the slaves, male and female, in their household menage; viz. all the cooking required, the firing and water wanted for household purposes and cleanliness for them and their families;—all are left to fall on the slaves after their work is over, and they have been broiling in a tropical sun for eleven hours and a half in the field and under the lash. Can we wonder at the dreadful waste of human life in Jamaica?



except women pregnant, or having children at the breast. Their labour, also, is almost entirely of the same description as that of the men. They cannot undertake the management of cattle, or the duty of *watching* all night out of crop; but they dig cane-holes with the men, and in gangs with them; and they are exposed to the same degree of labour. The question aptly follows, “Does the population of Jamaica increase or decrease?” The reply is—IT DECREASES; and this decrease, Mr. Taylor states, is considered in Jamaica to arise from sugar cultivation, especially the night work of crop, and the cane-hole digging. The free blacks and people of colour, on the other hand, increase. The maroons, he knew from the returns in the Jamaica Almanac, increased largely, and they derive their whole subsistence from their own exertions. The habits of the free people as to labour he was not able to describe particularly; few of them, from the jealousy and ill-will of managers and overseers, have hitherto been allowed to settle on or near estates. A free village near an estate indeed is viewed as a great evil. Being asked to account for the increase of the free, while the slaves decrease, Mr. Taylor said he accounted for it partly by cane-hole digging and night work, partly by abortions caused by flogging pregnant women, before the pregnancy is apparent. Many children are thus destroyed in the womb. Some of the medical men to whom he spoke admitted that this evil prevailed to a certain extent. He believed that there was a waste or rather prevention of life from this cause (it was admitted generally in conversation) as well as from the severity and duration of the labour imposed on the women in common with the men, such as cane-hole digging, and night work (pp. 27, 28).

Mr. Taylor being again questioned as to the slave’s capacity, if manumitted, to maintain himself and his family in comfort, he replied that he would be neither incapable nor unwilling. Let him be moved by the fear of want, or excited by the hope of advantage, and he will exert himself as certainly and effectively as the labourers of Europe. It would at the same time be unfair, in his present enslaved state, to require that he should be placed in comparison with the free Scotchman; yet he believed that he would be always alive to the prospect of pecuniary advantage whenever it was palpably exhibited to him, and, with that before him, he would work if free. Emancipated slaves do not become vagrants, in any legitimate sense of the term. They are much



employed as hucksters, an occupation for which the peculiar state of Jamaica offers great advantages. There are in that island scarcely any inland villages with shops, as in England ; but the wants of the slaves in distant parishes are supplied by hucksters, which emancipated slaves are fond of becoming. A strict watch, however, is kept over such stragglers, whether they be coloured, or black, or white persons. The slaves, if emancipated, would only think of removing from their home to better their condition ; but otherwise they would cling, if allowed to do so, to their respective villages, to their houses and grounds, their wives and children. With respect to the habits of the free people of colour, little comparatively is known by the whites. Indeed the distinctions between white, and black, and brown, and bond and free, raise barriers to communication which widely separate them from each other. This is an almost necessary, but most unhappy incident of a slave state.—Certainly the desire for freedom does not arise from the slave's connecting it with an exemption from labour ; for they see under their own eyes many who had been slaves labouring hard for their support. Even an old Negro on an estate, when he ceases to labour for his master, does not cease to labour for himself. There was one on the estate of Salt Savannah, who, though allowed to “sit down and to be exempt from plantation labour, was most industrious and hard-working for himself” (p. 28, 29).

Mr. Taylor, being further questioned as to the danger of disturbance among the slaves in Jamaica, replied to this effect :—Jamaica is now in a state of disturbance ; but he could not answer for the future, so ignorant may an individual in Jamaica be of the state and feelings of the society around him. Had he been asked in January last, or on the very day before the news of the insurrection arrived, he would have denied all probability of riot or insurrection ; and in no parish should he have less expected it, with the exception of Kingston and Spanish Town, than in St. James. The actual transactions would have falsified all his convictions, and convinced him that, though living in the very centre of the slaves, with hundreds of them at the very door, nothing was known of them, or of what they felt or designed. This is a peculiar feature of a slave community. Slavery separates the different classes from each other. The military executions and horrors may for the present have quelled the spirit of insubordination ; but, when that terror has

worn away, it can hardly be doubted, from the vast increase of lettered knowledge among the slaves, which there is no controlling, that, without an early emancipation, they will break out again, and you will not be able to put them down. They will be more methodical and successful. Men cannot be expected to be quiet who read newspapers on both sides of such a question. The great error in Jamaica is madly fancying that the slaves of 1830 are the slaves of 1810. Legislation is at least half a century behind the state of the people. Whether when made free they will be turbulent or peaceable will depend wholly on the mode of doing it. If put in a situation to feel the influence of the motives which make us all work, they will work, if you only establish a good government in that country.—But it is asked, if the slave in certain situations possesses the advantages you have stated, why should you think freedom preferable to slavery? It is preferable on these grounds, and in this view of the subject the slaves almost universally concur.—Whatever advantages a slave may have, the evils accompanying slavery are such as every man would get rid of if he could. Let the comfort even of a Negro in Vere, the most comfortable in the island, be doubled, yet he would not remain in that state, if he could get rid of it without absolutely being turned adrift. Better to be the poorest labourer in England than the richest slave in Jamaica. Suppose him in the best circumstances, and with the best master, he cannot call Sunday his own. He may see his wife indecently stripped and flogged at shell blow. He may see his adult daughter put in the same situation. There is no law to prevent this, and it is done over and over again. No degree of comforts, even their greatest abundance, could be accepted on such terms (p. 29, 30).

The remainder of Mr. Taylor's evidence, extending through nearly 34 folio pages, consists chiefly of a close and eagerly pursued cross-examination, conducted, as it would appear, by Mr. Burge, who alone of the committee could have been competent to the task. Close and able as it was, it did not shake any one material position occupied by Mr. Taylor; on the contrary it has greatly strengthened them. It would be a mere waste of time and labour to repeat, under this new form, the re-assertion of the principles we have already abstracted. We shall therefore only glean what we find new and striking in this truly searching examination.

Mr. Taylor, during the thirteen years he had resided in Jamaica, between 1816 and 1831, had had abundant opportunities of knowing something of the state and character of the slave population. During the ten years he resided in Kingston as a merchant, he visited Hermitage estate, in St. George, belonging to his partner Mr. Simpson, three or four times a year, having upon it 160 Negroes. During six months of 1816 he visited many estates in Trelawney, with his uncle Mr. Cunningham, who was both a proprietor and an attorney. He had also been a good deal in Manchester and St. Elizabeth.—The time allowed the slaves by law to raise their food, he was convinced, was wholly inadequate. The land in general was ample, but the time, without encroaching largely on the rest of Sunday, very scanty, it being only his own time, and not his master's, which he could apply to that purpose (p. 34). The labour required to keep yams, and cocoes or eddoes, free from weeds, is very considerable. The time required by a plantain walk, when once established, was certainly not great;\* but still, to secure sufficient food for the slave, far more time is absolutely required (p. 35, ques. 342). At present the slave is almost wholly debarred from the religious use of two Sundays in three, and from attending the Sunday schools on those days.—The wealth found among slaves is principally among mechanics (ques. 308, p. 36); but he knows no parish where provisions are deficient (ques. 384, p. 37). As to the hours of labour, the whip is cracked generally between four and five in the morning. In general they go out as soon as they can see (ques. 392, p. 38). Half an hour is usually allowed for breakfast, and an hour and a half for dinner (ques. 396, p. 38). In duration their day's labour is thus raised to twelve hours. In most estates cane-hole digging to a considerable extent is indispensable; on very fertile lands it is much less called for (ques. 415, &c., p. 39). Cane-holing was the chief work in Clarendon, from the middle of August to the middle of November, with occasional intermissions of lighter work, as the strength of the

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\* But, if a hurricane comes, plantain walks are swept away, and, if the Negro has no other food to rely upon, he is reduced to a state of absolute famine. The planter who permits his slaves to *rely* on the plantain exposes them to destruction of the same kind which, in 1789, swept away so many thousands by the famine caused by the miserable penuriousness of the planters of that day in the allotment of time to their slaves.

Negroes would permit (ques. 462, p. 39). The plough and jobbing gangs are in use on many plantations, with a view of sparing the Negroes (p. 40). On estates not strongly handed, during crop, the Negroes work day and night for about 18 hours out of the 24. If the estates are strongly handed, this labour is lessened, but in none is the loss of sleep less than two nights a week\* (p. 41). Mr. Taylor is asked whether the

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\* An intelligent person, who kept spell as a book-keeper for four years in Jamaica, is ready to testify, if called upon, to the uniform practice, in his time, to divide into two spells that part of the first and second gangs not occupied as coopers, in making casks, or as waggoners, or mule-drivers.

The following is a sketch of the working of those two spells, which we will call A and B, a white book-keeper being allowed to each, who had the same length of night duty as the slaves :—

On Sunday, at 6 P.M., the spell A went to the works and put the mill about, remaining there till midnight, when it went to rest as soon as relieved by spell B. At day-dawn, on Monday, spell A went to the field, and continued cutting canes there for the mill till noon. At noon it resumed its place at the works, and continued there till midnight on Monday, when it took rest till day-dawn on Tuesday, and was then again in the field cutting canes till noon, and thus it proceeded on each succeeding day of the week, except that on Saturday it did not always retire at midnight, but remained sometimes to two or three on Sunday morning, till all the cane juice was boiled off. During the same week, the spell B came on duty at the works at midnight on Sunday night, and continued there till noon on Monday, when it went home; but at 2 P.M. it was again in the field, cutting canes for the mill from that time until dusk, when it went home to rest, till called up again at midnight to relieve spell A. And so the work proceeded the whole week, only that at midnight on Saturday there was no call of spell B, however late might be the boiling.

The succeeding week, the spells were changed, so that the spell B began work on the Sunday evening at 6 P.M., and so had the very same tale and hours of labour, both at the works and in the field, which the spell A had had the week before, and A the same as B had had. Thus each spell during every 24 hours was 12 hours at the works and six hours in the field, the whole of their sleep being taken from the six hours which then alone remained to them. And the same must of absolute necessity be the case still, if the manufacture of sugar be continuously carried on, on estates not having more than from 200 to 250 Negroes, embracing a large majority of sugar estates. Is not this toil dreadful, and most wearing and exhausting? and it affects the women still more than the men. Can women, by any possibility, breed under such circumstances? It is altogether impossible.



mortality is as great among the children of the free as among the children of slaves (ques. 496, p. 44), but he cannot answer the question.\*—No attempt was made to instruct and civilise the maroons till 1829, when Mr. Taylor was authorised by the Church Missionary Society to erect schools for them in Accompong Town. Prior to that they had been left in a state of utter ignorance and barbarism; but from that date he observed a rapid change among them (ques. 537, page 48).—Mr. Taylor affirms the ample sufficiency of his experience to justify the assertions he has made respecting the Negro character and the conduct of the slave population. His experience was as large as that of most others who had been in that island (ques. 562, p. 49). His means of acquiring a knowledge of lettered instruction among the Negroes were peculiar, and he pronounced their advance, as compared with 1816, to be *immense* (ques. 581, p. 51); meaning by lettered instruction the knowledge of reading. They acquire it in Sunday schools, which are chiefly attended by the adult slaves, and *they* carry it home and spread it diligently. The knowledge of reading was not general, but it was spreading rapidly. In these schools are many children, but the chief part is composed of adults, and this though they could only attend one Sunday in three. These schools are numerous in St. Thomas in the East, in St. George's, at Buff Bay, at Annotta Bay, at Falmouth, at Montego Bay, at Lucea, at Savannah-la-mar, and in St. Elizabeth, where the clergy, the dissenting missionaries, the Moravians, and several private families are particularly active; and the recipients of such instruction are themselves, in their turn, the active instruments of teaching others. It thus spreads rapidly. Many adults are able to read Anti-Slavery publications, not from England, but published in the island: some subscribe for them and take them in. The proprietors and land-owners know little of all this (p. 51 and 52). The Watchman and Christian Record are unsafe reading for the slaves in Jamaica. As for the Anti-Slavery Reporter, it was little known in Jamaica, and he did not believe it was

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\* But can the slightest doubt rest upon this matter when the returns officially sent from the West Indies are examined? The increase among the maroons of Jamaica is nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, while the decrease on the sugar estates is from 1 to 2 per cent. or more. The free black and coloured people of Demerara, Berbice, and the Mauritius, increase at the rate of nearly 3 per cent. per annum.—How terrible is the waste of slave life as compared with this increase!



read there (p. 53).—The insurrection Mr. Taylor thought had arisen chiefly from the rapid advance of knowledge among the slaves; partly from the debates in the Assembly, as to the free people of colour; partly from a desire and expectation of freedom, excited by the discussions between the colonial legislature and the government at home; and partly from the excited and divided state of the press\* (p. 53).—The handsome furniture found in the houses of Negroes were exceptions; such things were almost entirely in the houses of mechanics, but slaves, generally, have a strong desire to possess better clothing and furniture (p. 55).—The Negroes always put on sandals when they walk a great distance. (ib.) The Negro house is a low-roofed cottage of three apartments; the centre is the eating apartment, the parents occupy one end and sleep there, and the children sleep in the centre apartment. The other end is for their property. Many houses have only two apartments, one for living in, and one for sleeping. They have rude bedsteads of timber nailed together. Some have mattresses stuffed with leaves, and some bed-clothes and sheets (p. 55). Mr. Taylor could affirm that those slaves who were constant at church were those most desirous to receive instruction.

Mr. Taylor is of opinion that on plantations, generally, it is in the power of the manager to inflict great cruelty on the slaves, without their being able to obtain redress; and that, within the limit of the law, most appalling cruelty may be inflicted, which cannot be punished (p. 56). The Assembly of Jamaica voted large sums for the pro-slavery publications of Macqueen, Bridges, and Barclay; and the planters support the Jamaica Courant (p. 56). With the Negroes, the flogging of women operates against marriage. They will not marry, because they cannot endure to have their wedded wives flogged (p. 57).—It is indisputable that one part of the Jamaica clergy promotes religious instruction among the Negroes to the utmost, and that another part does not (ques. 670, p. 57). The former exert themselves in every

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\* Mr. Taylor has entirely omitted to notice the parochial resolutions of Jamaica in August, September, and October, 1831; the appointment of delegates to England; and Mr. Beaumont's bill for abolishing female flogging, and facilitating manumissions by compelling masters to grant them at a fair appraise-ment.

possible way to instruct the Negroes, conceiving it their bounden duty to their flock to teach them to read the Scriptures, and to put the Scriptures into their hands, whether the masters like it or not. The other party will do nothing without permission of the owner (ques. 684, p. 58). There are not sufficient magistrates in Jamaica at present to serve as substitutes for the master in enforcing discipline (ques. 681, p. 58).—Mr. Taylor thinks that no consideration would induce an emancipated slave to submit to the degradation of joining a Negro gang to work in the field with a driver behind him; but his refusal to do this, especially as he can procure more profitable employment, is only a proof of his good sense (p. 63).

A paper was produced which Mr. Taylor acknowledged to be his, and in which he had embodied, for the information of a friend, his general views on the subject of emancipation; and he added that they were still his views, and the result of much deliberation and reflection. It was as follows:—

“First let emancipation, and strict police arrangements, be contemporaneous.—Ample materials would be found for a police corps in the coloured class, whose services could be had at a low rate of charge.—Avoid paying the emancipated Negroes by means of allotments of land, as those would detach them from regular daily labour; but pay them in money.—At first there would be difficulties, but gradually the equitable price of labour would be ascertained, and act as the producer of regular labour.—A stipendiary magistracy would be necessary, because the peculiar prejudices of the present magistracy generally unfit them for the office.—The island would have to be divided into districts, each possessing a certain portion of the constabulary force, with a stipendiary magistrate, and a house of correction or other penitentiary. Were the island thus divided, and the police and magistrates properly organized, I firmly believe that emancipation might take place with perfect security.—Of course there would be difficulties, obstacles, and disappointments, in carrying into effect the detail of the system of emancipation; but if Government would address themselves actually to the work, telling the planters on the one hand that such is their determination, and the Negroes on the other that while they aim at instituting equal laws, and securing them their civil and religious liberty, they by no means design that idleness should be at their option,—I am con-

vinced that the result would be as beneficial, in a pecuniary way, to the planter, as it would be elevating and humanizing morally to the present degraded slave. The present system is incurable; it will not modify: it must be utterly destroyed. My experience, as a planter, assures me that to attempt to ingraft religion and humanity upon slavery, with the hope of profitable results, is a vain and fruitless endeavour. A religious man is a most unfit person to manage a slave estate. The fact is, cruelty is the main spring of the present system. As long as slavery exists, and the whip is the compeller of labour, it is folly to talk of humanity. Legitimate motives are taken away, and coercion becomes the spring of industry; and in proportion to the application of this, that is, coercion, is the effect on labour. The Negro character has been much underrated, even, I think, by the Negro's friends. When justice is done to him, even in his present degraded circumstances, he shows a sagacity and shrewdness, and a disposition to a regular social life, which emphatically prove that he only requires freedom secured to him by law to make him a useful, and, in his situation, an honourable member of the human family." Mr. Taylor added that he firmly believed all that he had stated in this paper to be true. It had been privately written, and he never expected to see it again, but he perfectly agreed now in every sentiment it contained.

Such is the evidence of Mr. William Taylor, and certainly more important evidence has never been laid before the public on this subject. It will commend itself to every reader by its calmness, consistency, and truth, by its cautious and discriminating character, and by the straightforwardness with which he states facts, without regard to the impression they may produce. It bears all the marks of a thoroughly honest evidence.

## II.—THE REV. JOHN BARRY.

The next witness is the Rev. JOHN BARRY, a Wesleyan Missionary. When he first went to the island, and for some time after, he found the work of education in a backward and inefficient state. The children attended only on Sundays at the chapel. They were all regularly at work during the week in St. Thomas in the Vale, where he then was, and no fit teachers were procurable. Now, however, great numbers of children, and latterly of adults, have learnt to read. The Wesleyans have no

schools on any plantations, nor on any day but Sunday, and at their chapels, except in Kingston. The Negroes in St. Thomas in the Vale derived their subsistence from the provision grounds allotted by the master, and cultivated by themselves. Besides provisions, some of them reared pigs and poultry. The yearly allowance of clothing was two suits of Osnaburg, a common hat or cap, and a coarse rug coat, for bad weather; but many were clad in better clothes, procured by the sale of their surplus provisions. The whole of the 26 week-days allowed by law, and any spare time they had, and the Sundays, were given to the culture of provisions, or to marketing. They generally laboured in their grounds on Sundays, except when they went to market, and which market, whether Spanish Town or Kingston, was 20 miles distant from the plantations near which he lived. This use of most Sundays was invariably and decidedly necessary, though they were very industrious in employing what time they had in raising food and articles for sale. He had paid attention to their industrious habits, and had not the least doubt they would labour willingly for hire if free. They did not become less industrious by having acquired some little property. He had a servant of his own who had been a slave, but had obtained his freedom; and, though he received a liberal weekly pay for his services, he requested to be allowed to devote his hours after 8 or 9 o'clock to his own purposes, and has been known almost constantly to work till midnight, or even two in the morning, in manufacturing baskets to sell, and increase his property and comforts. The Negroes employ themselves much, besides cultivating their grounds, in manufacturing ornamental baskets, making coarse straw hats and earthen utensils, and a variety of little articles, and sometimes in cutting grass, all which they sell. This is done to a great extent near towns. The slaves sell their provisions and other things in the public markets, as is done in England. They are very shrewd indeed in their bargains—as shrewd as any white man. They well understand the value of money. They often go as far as 25 and 26 miles to market, and sometimes as far as 35. Their plan is to prepare their loads on that Saturday which is their own, and to travel with it all Saturday night to be in time for the Sunday market; so that the violation of the Sabbath is unavoidable, for it necessarily requires the whole of the day when they go to market, to vend their goods and return home (p. 64—68).



The Negroes, Mr. Barry thinks, are remarkable for the social and domestic affections. He never knew more dutiful and obedient children. They are exceedingly attached to their parents, and will do all in their power to promote their comfort. The greatest offence that can be given to a Negro is to speak disrespectfully of his parents. At the same time, in St. Thomas in the Vale, they are generally in a state of sad demoralization. Great improvement, however, has followed religious instruction. On Mount Concord, near the missionary station, there were 130 Negroes. The adults were about 70. The overseer of that plantation called upon Mr. Barry one day and said, “Mr. Barry, the Negroes on this property perfectly astonish me. They are the most industrious, and the most intelligent, and the best Negroes I have ever seen in this island. I have just left the Port Royal mountains, and such was the state of the Negroes there that I was afraid to eat my food, lest I should be poisoned, and I always considered my life in danger.” Mr. Barry replied, “I am glad to hear you bear that testimony, Mr. Jordan; for almost all of these people are members of our society.” It is true that, owing to some peculiarities in the state of the Negroes, they had not sufficiently correct notions as to petty thefts and the obligations of truth and purity; but, when brought under the influence of religion, those evils were almost invariably corrected. Had the slave population, generally, been as well instructed as the 10,000 or 12,000 Negroes belonging to the Wesleyan establishments, they might be considered as on a par, in point of morality, with ordinary persons. In the late insurrection not a single member of the society was found implicated: and there were only two cases even of suspicion. The Governor himself stated as much to Mr. Barry; and Major-General Yates said that, after the most minute investigation, it did not appear that a single Wesleyan had taken part in it. Since Mr. Barry had quitted the island, a few months since, he had heard rumours that three or four had been detected, but on no good authority (p. 68).

Mr. Barry was decidedly of opinion that, if emancipation took place under prudent precautions, there would be an infinitely greater opportunity of communicating religious instruction, and a more rapid advancement in morality and civilization. He called once, in travelling through St. Mary's, on a Mr. Clarke, the possessor of about forty slaves who had been receiving instruction for two or three years. The change,

he said, was remarkable ; he no longer employed a driver, and seldom visited his slaves while at work. Previously to their becoming religious, he had employed two drivers, and constantly visited the slaves himself. Now he got infinitely more work from those very slaves than he could get by his own care, and that of his drivers ; and this he attributed to the influence of religion. Religious slaves, however, are not exempted in general, under the present system, from the infliction of punishment. If they work under drivers, as is the common case, they will share in it, however attentive they may be to their duties. If emancipated, he believes, they would do more work than now (p. 69).

Many plantations have no religious instruction at all. St. Mary's had a population of 25,000 slaves : when first he visited it, in 1825, the only places of worship were the parish church at Port Maria and another small church that only held 200 people, both very distant from the dwellings of the great majority of the slaves. This is a fair picture of the provision of places of worship generally throughout the island. In some parishes the advantages are greater, but in no due proportion to the number of slaves. The aggregate number of slaves even partially under religious instruction, by all the religious bodies, did not exceed 50,000, being only a seventh of the whole. The proportion of the free black and coloured inhabitants who attend religious instruction is much larger. A great degree of immorality, however, prevails among both slave and free, the constitution of society in Jamaica tending much to general demoralization, and more generally among the whites than the other classes. It prevails to a very great extent indeed ; and among the whites of all grades it is nearly universal. This general profligacy pervading all ranks, whether slave or free, has had its origin in slavery, and especially in the master's unlimited power over the body of his female slave. It is true he has not the same power over the *free* women ; but the example and influence of the whites are so corrupting that the mothers of free females generally prefer seeing their daughters the concubines of white men rather than the wives of men of their own colour. Emancipation would tend greatly to improve this state of things. Religious and moral improvement would then necessarily advance ; and, under the influence of religion, the present loose habits would be abandoned. In the Wesleyan Societies in Jamaica there are hundreds of fine young women who will labour incessantly rather than submit to

such a state of degradation. In some instances women have had the strongest inducements held out to return to their former keepers, which they have almost uniformly refused. The discredit which still attaches to white men who *marry* women of colour is great; notwithstanding the new rights and privileges conferred on that class. Such marriages cause an almost entire exclusion from white society. The emancipation of the slaves would tend to obviate this evil (p. 70 and 71).

The free coloured and blacks maintain themselves by their own industry in a great variety of ways; they work as carpenters, smiths, masons, coopers, wood cutters, cabinet makers, watch makers, and at all other trades carried on by whites. Many of them who have themselves been slaves are employed in the very first works in the island. Numbers of them are domestic servants, and a great many cultivate lands of their own, and sell the produce. They never work in the field of plantations: indeed their services are never asked for there, and they have constant work otherwise; and at all events in cultivating land of their own, which they purchase. The present system of labour excludes them from plantation work in the field. A planter would not willingly admit free persons to work with his slaves, and the free persons would feel it a deep degradation to work with a gang of slaves in the field: extreme necessity alone could drive them to it. Land may be had, but not always in convenient situations. Mr. Barry himself paid 7*l.* currency, or 5*l.* sterling, for an acre of very good grass land, which he wanted for his own use. There are immense tracts of uncultivated land both in the plains and on the mountains, partly belonging to the crown, and partly to individuals (p. 72).

Mr. Barry professes to be well acquainted with the habits of the free blacks and people of colour. They have certainly greatly improved in information, intelligence, and wealth, during his residence in the island. Some of the best educated men he has known in Jamaica are people of colour, and they promote education among the young. Being allied by blood and marriage with the slaves, they communicate with them to a great extent, and thus the slaves acquire much general knowledge.—There is scarcely a transaction which takes place even in England with which they are not acquainted. They take a deep interest in what relates to emancipation. When in the last session Mr. Beaumont brought in his bill for compulsory manumission, the greatest

possible excitement existed among the slaves, and their expressions of joy were almost unbounded ; and the great mass not only of the slaves, but of the free black and coloured classes, were eager for the measure. He knew slaves that were head men and tradesmen on estates, who were able to purchase their freedom, and desirous of obtaining it, but could not obtain it. He had known instances of aged and infirm slaves who did not desire to be free ; but he never knew an instance of a vigorous Negro who did not desire it. It is very common for emancipated slaves to pay large sums for the redemption of their wives and children : the desire to do so is universally very strong, and very exorbitant prices are often paid for them (p. 73).

When Mr. Barry first went to Jamaica, from what he had heard, he was led to think that emancipation could not be effected without danger. But now he was of a contrary opinion. He was now convinced, by a more close observation of the Negro character, that, with proper regulations, it might be effected without any danger ; and that such is their willingness to labour at their own hours, whether field slaves or mechanics, that no apprehension need be entertained of the result.—The cause of religion and morality would be most essentially promoted by it. Under the present system the slaves are generally precluded, for weeks together, from attending places of religious worship and instruction. Any system of police, however severe, would be preferable to the evils of slavery. And not only would the free people, generally, be perfectly competent to discharge police duties, but thousands of the slaves themselves, if emancipated, might safely be put into a corps of that description. They would keep order themselves, and aid in keeping others in order. The present magistracy, however, would be inadequate, and there ought to be stipendiary magistrates to superintend the whole. The feeling of freedom has got so firm a hold of the slaves now that they will never be satisfied till they attain it, and even its delay will be attended with considerable danger. During the late insurrection, those who were judicially executed, with very few exceptions, died glorying in their death, and stating that, had they twenty lives, they would sacrifice them all rather than return to slavery. No mere amelioration of their condition will ever reconcile the Negroes again to slavery. Religious instruction tends indeed to restrain turbulence and outrage, but it never can repress the desire of freedom (p. 74, 75).



The Negroes are generally a shrewd and intelligent people. Many possess strong intellectual powers. They are strongly attached to their homes. They are grateful to those who treat them kindly. Taking all their circumstances into account, they are much the same as other men. Plantation field slaves have little opportunity of working for hire. Plantation mechanics will work assiduously after hours, as long as they can see, and often by candle-light. It cannot be doubted, however, that in case of emancipation all would work, for fair wages, at plantation or any other work. They dislike sugar planting more than any other work ; but, for a proper remuneration, they will work even on sugar properties. They know the value of money, and they will labour for it (p. 76).

Mr. Barry did not think that the present means of education and divine worship were at all sufficient for the slave population. Difficulties, too, are thrown in the way by masters. One Sunday, in St. Thomas in the Vale, a woman came into the chapel with a wooden tray on her head, filled with dirty clothes. Mr. Barry felt inclined to reprove her for the indecorum, but the steward told him she was not to blame, as what she had done was to elude the opposition of her owner. His opposition to religion was so strong that his Negroes were obliged to leave the estate with their best clothes put into the tray, and their working dress on, that he might be led to suppose they were going to their grounds or to market ; but when they came near chapel they put on their best clothes, and put their dirty ones into the tray, and all this was done to elude the opposition to their attending religious worship. But the grand hindrance is the necessary attention that must be paid to their provision grounds, and the impossibility of going to market if they attend chapel. They cannot attend any school but a Sunday school—their master's interest stands in the way : and from Sunday schools they are frequently altogether debarred. Even the children, from the age of five to ten, are constantly employed in gangs under a driveress, to perform various works on the estate. Mr. Wildman, and Mr. S. M. Barrett, are the only planters he knew to pay any great attention to the religious instruction of the slaves, both children and adults. Mr. Nicholas Palmer's wishes on that point were wholly frustrated by his attorney. Mr. Palmer sent out as a catechist a Mr. Stockman and his wife, from Bristol, to his estate in St. Dorothy's.

But, when Mr. Stockman arrived, Mr. Bailey, the attorney, would not permit him to go on the estate, and, though informed of Mr. Palmer's wishes, would neither make him any allowance nor suffer him to perform his duties. The consequence was that Mr. Stockman, having opened a school at Old Harbour, in a very hot and inconvenient house, fever ensued, of which he died; and Mr. Palmer paid the expenses of his widow's return to Bristol. He did not know of any specific opposition to Mr. Wildman's plans of education, but he became very unpopular in consequence of them (p. 77).

Mr. Barry could not tell, from his own observation, whether the field slaves worked harder on the plantation, or for their own profit on their grounds; but he had seen carpenters working as hard for their own profit as it was possible for men to do. There is, however, a great difficulty in entering a plantation to obtain information as to the state of the slaves. Attorneys and overseers never like it (p. 77, ques. 949).

He had known instances, during the late insurrection, of slaves who had shown attachment to their masters or managers, and had defended their property. One man in particular, James Muir, had defended his master's property to the last; and, when at length compelled to abandon the house to the insurgents, he secured the most valuable of his master's effects and carried them to Montego Bay, where he resided. This man was one of the principal slave members of the Wesleyan Society (ques. 950, p. 78).

Mr. Barry explained the mode by which members were admitted into that Society. There are subordinate leaders in the Society. If any of these should be applied to by an individual for admission, he states the fact to the missionary, who examines particularly whether, if a slave, his conduct as far as known is irreproachable, and whether he has been faithful to his master. If the examination be satisfactory, he is admitted for two or three months on trial. If, at the end of this probation, the leader can still recommend him for moral conduct, a ticket is then given him which recognizes him as a member. At the weekly meeting of the leaders the missionary further enquires of each as to the moral conduct of every member of his class during the week, and if a slave has been guilty of any act of immorality or dishonesty, or of running away, the slave is immediately called up and examined, and, if proved to be guilty, is expelled. This course is invariably pursued. He does not,

however, necessarily become a leader : that requires higher qualifications. In fact, there are not above five slave leaders in the island. The office of a leader requires that he should undertake the moral and religious instruction of a certain number of members; and, before any such appointment, he is brought to the leader's meeting, and the missionary examines into his knowledge of Christianity, and his moral character, and whether he is in debt, or any pecuniary embarrassment, and it is only when the missionary is satisfied on these points that he is appointed a leader. There would have probably been more slaves appointed leaders, but for the prejudices existing in the colony, which are so strong that it was always avoided as much as possible. But for this, vast numbers of slaves were as fit to be leaders and subordinate teachers as any freemen in Jamaica. The Negroes are not allowed to preach. Mr. Barry had often heard them pray and communicate religious instruction; but none of them are allowed to become public teachers for the same reason, that of obviating prejudice (p. 78).

Mr. Barry had resided as a missionary not only in St. Thomas in the Vale, but in Kingston and Spanish Town, occasionally exercising his ministry in St. Dorothy's, at Old Harbour; and in Clarendon, on the estate of Lime Savannah, belonging to M. de la Beche. He had not, however, an opportunity of visiting the slaves in their huts, or conversing much with them, except in the way of religious instruction on Sunday, and on evenings in the week. Four times a year, however, he had direct and personal intercourse with every individual of the congregations in order to ascertain his religious and moral state. Mr. Barry does not believe that there is any essential difference in the characters of the Negroes in different parts of the island, or on different plantations, except in the grosser ignorance of some of the parties. On the sugar estates they are generally very destitute of instruction indeed. The difference of character arose mainly from their respective advantages or disadvantages (p. 81).

Mr. Barry did not know what time was required for the cultivation of different articles of Negro provisions. Plantain walks required little time when once established. Yams required considerable labour in the cleaning and weeding (p. 83).

Mr. Barry never knew emancipated slaves to work in the field on sugar estates. No freeman would willingly submit to the degradation

of working in the field with slaves on plantations, and planters would not allow of it; many of them had themselves told him so; and they were generally indisposed to the intrusion of the free on estates.

Being asked how sugar would be cultivated if the slaves were immediately emancipated, he replied that, on his first arrival in Jamaica, he was opposed to such a plan, and did not think that emancipation would be safe. As he became more fully acquainted with the Negro character he changed his opinion. He was convinced of their general disposition to labour for a fair remuneration, and he believed that any danger which might possibly arise from emancipation bore no possible proportion to the danger that must result from the perpetuation of slavery. With respect to sugar plantations, though some difficulties might exist in the first instance, in inducing the Negroes when free to work upon them, yet with due precautions, and the sense the Negroes had of the value of money, he certainly thought they would be induced to labour even on sugar estates. He was aware of their dislike to sugar culture more than to any other work, and this might operate on their minds for a time, in the event of freedom; but he felt convinced, from their hard-working habits, and their love of money, that a proper remuneration would lead even those on sugar plantations to continue to work upon them. This conclusion had been drawn from a long course of observation, which had enabled him, as he believed, to form a correct judgment of the habits and views of the Negroes, and from frequent conversations with coffee planters around him. He had conversed little with sugar planters. He repeated his strong and immovable conviction, from all he had seen and heard, that the Negroes, when free, would work diligently, even in cane-hole digging, if adequately remunerated for their labour (p. 85, 86).

Being asked what he meant by proper precautions accompanying emancipation, Mr. Barry replied that he meant more particularly a strong police force, and the appointment of a magistracy for the special purpose of preserving the public peace. In the event of a general emancipation he should consider this as a proper precautionary measure, to repress any partial tumult or disorder; and, as a measure of prudence, it ought to be maintained for some years afterwards, say five or six or more, according to circumstances. A large force properly distributed might be expedient, in the first instance; but, believing that there



would not be any general indisposition in the Negroes to labour or to due subordination, a large force would not, after a time, be requisite; and in some districts, little or no difficulty of any kind would be experienced (p. 86).

Being further questioned as to his manner of reconciling the necessity of coercion to compel the slave to labour, with his view of the industrious habits of the Negroes, he said that the infliction of punishment often depended on the *driver* alone. Besides, the slave now considered himself to labour without remuneration. The whole system was compulsory, and he himself was the object of that compulsion. While the present system of slavery endured, such compulsion, by the corporal punishment both of females and males, was, he believed, necessary (p. 87).

In St. Thomas in the Vale, the members of the Wesleyan Society amounted to about 700, besides free people; 300 or 400 usually attending. The school here was very inefficient. In Kingston their three chapels contained about 4000; about half who attended were slaves, and of the slaves about half were domestics and mechanics residing in Kingston; the rest plantation slaves; but the plantation slaves could not attend every Sunday, and many only every third or fourth Sunday, on account of their own engagements. There was a vast number in the Sunday schools, both children and adults, many capable of reading the Scriptures. The schools have been much more efficient of late. The children are taken in at all ages, from four years and upwards. The parents take a manifest interest in the progress of their children in reading. A great number of children, but by no means a majority of them, are taught to read, and a child diligently attending for twelve months may acquire a knowledge of reading. In Spanish Town there were about eighty slaves in the school, some of them, but not many, adults. Those not taught to read are orally instructed in religion. The slave children in the town attended twice on Sunday. The general aptitude of the Negroes to learn is about as great as that of any other peasant population. There is a great number of children who are now able to read, and some can write; several adults also, who have received instruction solely in the Wesleyan Sunday School. In Kingston there is a day school, lately formed, attended by about 150 children. There is here a mixture of free and

slaves, and of brown and black, but Mr. Barry does not know the proportions. The parents of the free children pay towards their schooling. These schools have been encouraged by some owners, but very generally discouraged by others. The indisposition is very prevalent to religious instruction, whether given by sectarians or not. Planters would prefer not having their slaves instructed at all by ministers of the church or of any other persuasion. This Mr. Barry asserted from what he had seen and known. He had known many severe corporal punishments inflicted for no other crime than that of merely attending public worship (p. 88, 89, 90).

Then follows a long enquiry about a set of resolutions passed by some Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica, on the 6th September, 1824, and afterwards disowned by the society at home; but, having no reference whatever to the points now at issue, the whole is omitted.

Mr. Barry afterwards went on to state that he knew several estates on which facilities were afforded for the instruction of the slaves, both by clergymen and by missionaries of the Scotch church. But he did not know of many instances in which additional places of worship to the parish church had been erected by voluntary contributions in Jamaica: he knew of some. Some catechists had been sent out to estates, connected, he supposed, with the Church of England, but they were discouraged. A few clergymen, of the Church of England, are active in preaching in chapels to the slaves, and in forming Sunday schools; but they do not carry on preaching or instruction on the estates. There are four Scotch Missionaries on the island (p. 99, 100).

Mr. Barry denied that, to his knowledge, any Wesleyan Missionaries had ever corresponded with the Anti-Slavery Society in England. He knew them occasionally to send letters to the newspapers and other periodical publications in Jamaica (p. 100).

Mr. Barry was then questioned as to his view of the moral state of the white society of Jamaica. His view was briefly to this effect:—While he resided at Grateful Hill, in St. Thomas in the Vale, two women came to complain that, the night before, the overseer of Mount Concord had taken away three of their daughters, the eldest thirteen, and locked them up for improper purposes, and they begged him to interfere. He said no; but sent them to the nearest magistrate, Mr. Lane, who interposed and had the girls set at liberty. In this way a knowledge of facts was

often obtained by the missionaries without any interference on their part. As to concubinage, it prevailed generally throughout the island. It is impossible for any man to reside in Jamaica, or travel through it, without being perfectly acquainted with this fact. Certainly many scenes occur peculiarly offensive to morals, in England as well as in Jamaica; but, as for concubinage, it is carried on to a greater extent in Jamaica than he could ever have conceived possible in any country. Concubinage exists to a great extent among all classes, but it prevails most among the whites, merchants, planters, clerks; indeed, the whole white population. In short, the system of concubinage is universal in Jamaica: to say it is general is saying too little. That very circumstance constitutes one of the principal obstructions to missionary labours in Jamaica. To the consequences immediately resulting from the power of the master over his female slaves must be ascribed the general demoralization in which the island is plunged. A proprietor, for instance, has twenty female slaves on his estate, all of them entirely at his disposal: that of itself must lead to great demoralization. But these women have children, to whom and to the mother the master often gives freedom. Children of such parents, under such circumstances, can hardly hope for marriage with men of respectable character; and women of colour will not intermarry with those that are below them in life. The distinctions of society are all founded in colour. Hence concubinage is resorted to, and mothers prefer letting out their daughters to white men to marrying them with people of their own colour. This Mr. Barry has frequently known to take place, all originating in the original illicit commerce of whites with slaves. In case of emancipation Mr. Barry does not conceive that this evil would continue in the same degree as at present; not only will the women be less in the power of masters but religious instruction has already elevated many, and will elevate still more, among the women of colour, to make every sacrifice to escape from this state of vice and degradation. A young woman of colour had formerly lived with a merchant, who died, and from him she had received some property; but the executor or attorney of the estate, taking a fancy to this lady, requested her to live with him. She refused to do so, from religious motives, and she was obliged to purchase of this man the property that had been given to her, but for which she could exhibit no deed. This case he mentioned to show the effects of religion, in

leading women of colour to resist the strongest inducements to return to their former degraded habits. She was at that time about thirty years of age. Mr. Barry adds that he could produce many instances of the same kind. The ignorance prevailing among these women of colour he affirms to be deplorable. He knew one who had seventeen children, and no two by the same father, and who rode in her carriage. No moral turpitude attaches to such female deviations from rectitude. A woman who gives her daughter to-day to live in concubinage holds the same rank in society she did the day before: he spoke of the coloured women. The white women in Jamaica are a virtuous race. The women of colour, but less so than formerly, prefer concubinage with the whites to marriage with their own colour; but this is attributable to slavery. The decrease of this evil may be traced, in almost every instance, to religious instruction. Among the slaves too there is a strong desire to receive religious instruction, and he had never seen any general indisposition among them to receive it (p. 101, 102).

In the Wesleyan Society in Jamaica there are about 13,000 members, of whom 10,000 are slaves, a great many attending the chapels who are not members. The church in Kingston is generally well attended, so is the Kirk, but few slaves attend either. In the towns, and especially in Kingston, the proportion attending public worship is very considerable; but in the country places few attend, either slaves or free. They have few opportunities, few places of worship. It is Mr. Barry's firm belief that religion alone will keep the slaves quiet in the hope of ultimate emancipation, but nothing will ever extinguish their strong desire of freedom. As the slave becomes enlightened, his desire after freedom certainly becomes more intense, though religion will enable him to control his passions, and wait for the legitimate accomplishment of his wishes. This appeared strongly in the conduct of the Wesleyan slaves in the late insurrection. Religion must certainly increase the desire of freedom: this is in the nature of things (p. 102, 103).

Mr. Barry further declared his firm conviction that no missionaries of any denomination in Jamaica, whether Methodists, Baptists, or Moravians, had ever had, even remotely, any thing to do with the late insurrection. There are circumstances in the constitution of the Baptist Society which gave a colour, though most unjustly, to the charges against them. Baptists give tickets to men enquiring about religion; but the



Wesleyans only to those who are admitted as members. There was not the slightest ground for any imputation on the Baptist missionaries. The causes which appeared to Mr. Barry to have led to the insurrection were these :—The slaves had long known what had been passing in this country respecting their freedom, and had been led to entertain the notion that the king had given them their freedom, but that their masters withheld it from them. The parochial meetings that took place in Jamaica, the resolutions of which were published in all the island newspapers, requesting to be absolved from their allegiance, was one of the proximate causes. Some whites also travelling through the island frequently take newspapers with them, which they read to the slaves. Negroes attending at the tables of their masters hear their masters discussing the questions of freedom and slavery as freely as if no slaves were present. The parochial resolutions seemed to the slaves to shut the door against their hope of freedom. Then there was Mr. Beaumont's bill for compulsory manumission, which was at once rejected by the assembly. The slaves had been elated to the highest pitch of joy by its introduction, and proportionately depressed by its rejection. The uncalled-for publication of the king's proclamation, in December 1831, was also an unfortunate occurrence. It co-operated powerfully to promote the insurrection. Such were its main causes (p. 104 and 105).

His reasons for thinking that there was more danger in withholding than in granting freedom were, that the Negroes knew very well what was going on in their favour in this country. Their minds have been long set on freedom, and they never will be satisfied without it. A feeling of liberty has gone abroad among them. Many of the Negroes who suffered during the insurrection died glorying in their death. And, with all this danger on one side, no evil bearing any proportion to it could possibly result from freedom (p. 106).

The Negroes who cultivate their own grounds are well fed, but their clothing would not be sufficient for decency, were it not for what they purchase for themselves. All this, however, is gained by the sacrifice of the slaves' Sunday (p. 106).

### III.—THE REV. PETER DUNCAN.

The Rev. PETER DUNCAN was the third witness called. He

had been a Wesleyan Missionary in Jamaica for more than eleven years; had resided five years in St. Thomas in the East, two in Kingston, two in St. Thomas in the Vale, and two in Montego Bay. In St. Thomas in the East, which was a great sugar parish, there were three chapels, in all of which he did duty. There were about 1000 slaves attending at these chapels, besides free people; but the members of the society were much more numerous, for all could not attend each Sunday. The chapels were as full as they could hold. There were no Sunday schools at first: they were regarded with an unfavourable eye by the planters. At Kingston about 3000 attended in two chapels, a third has been added since; the majority of the slaves there were domestics. In St. Thomas in the Vale about 300 attended, chiefly plantation slaves. At Montego Bay the average attendance was between 600 and 700, more than half being slaves, and of these a half being plantation slaves. There were Sunday schools at all these places, principally for children, but also for adults. At Kingston there were 300 children of both sexes taught. It was not till 1825 that the Sunday schools became efficient, and that reading was taught. A day school was opened in 1830, attended both by slaves and free, about half of each. The teachers were coloured persons. The aptitude of the scholars was pretty much as elsewhere (p. 106 and 107).

From all that Mr. Duncan saw of the slaves, he thought they were just as willing to labour as the people of any other country. Hard labour being performed by slaves in Jamaica stamps it with a kind of disgrace; but, when they get above that feeling, they are much more willing to labour when free than when slaves. Their desire too to acquire comforts and luxuries, beyond their allowances as slaves, is very evident. They have in general a stronger taste for these things than the lower classes in European countries. He had seen emancipated slaves with their little settlements so arranged, and their premises so regulated, as to indicate a desire for very superior comforts and luxuries in furniture and dress: this is quite obvious to the spectator. He is persuaded that if emancipation were general, and firmly established, the Negroes would be more industrious than at present: the unthinking and worthless among them might shrink from labour, but, if slavery were done away, hard labour would be stripped of its degradation, and they would labour generally and industriously. As a body

Mr. Duncan thought them the most industrious people he had ever seen. The free people he had known do not at all murmur at hard labour, but they would not submit to go and dig cane-holes, that being slaves' work. Many of them who have even had the advantage of a liberal education will pursue without complaint, and perseveringly, work as laborious as cane-holes. They have appeared to him to have energy little short of the people at home, though warm climates are less favourable to exertion (p. 108 and 109).

Mr. Duncan was well acquainted with plantation slaves, especially in St. Thomas in the East, but almost wholly in the way of religious communication. When he went on plantations he had no intercourse with the slaves, nor visited their houses, but he knew much of their habits and mode of living from conversation with themselves, and with attorneys, overseers, and others. The enquiries which were found necessary to be made into the causes of absence from divine worship revealed much of the interior of plantations, and pains were taken to substantiate excuses by the evidence of slaves on the same estate on whom reliance could be placed. The most general excuse was that they were bound to attend their provision grounds. He believed it to be quite indispensable at present for the slaves to labour in their grounds on a Sunday. He never expected to see them oftener than once a month, and this even in the case of such as had masters favourable to instruction. The number of slave members in St. Thomas in the East was 3000 or 4000, but only about 1000 attended each Sunday. It was absolutely necessary that they should devote their Sundays frequently to their provision grounds, to have even a bare maintenance for themselves and families. Indeed the slaves are compelled by their masters, in some cases, to go upon their grounds on Sunday. In one instance Mr. Duncan had to intercede with a humane master to save a Negro from being flogged, whose crime was that he had been to the parish church on Sunday, instead of going to his grounds. It was scarcely possible for the slaves to keep the Sabbath strictly, or to attend every Sunday. Some have attempted it, but have suffered materially. Religious instruction certainly tended to make the slave more patient of injury, as he had seen in many instances; but it also diffused a light which tended to make them long for its extinction. It cannot be that slavery should long continue in any country

which is generally christianized, so that Christianity may be fairly said to be at issue with slavery ; but, if religion get hold of the slave's mind, he will submit to his lot till freed by legitimate means. It is the duty of slaves to obey their masters ; but that does not justify slavery, nor will it prevent the light from flowing in on the slaves, whether religious or not, who have an education. They cannot be indifferent hearers of the discussions going on around them. Slavery cannot stand before the light of instruction. Mere oral instruction, indeed, would do little, as in Catholic slave communities ; for no substantial knowledge can be communicated without letters. The work of Christianity, however, is still in its infancy in Jamaica. The number of slaves religiously instructed is very small as compared with the population, and the proportion of them that can read is of course still smaller. The moral state of the uninstructed Negroes is awfully degraded. Marriage is almost wholly neglected by them, and indeed is not unfrequently opposed by the whites who are living themselves in the same low and vicious habits as the Negroes. But even those slaves that are uninstructed are very acute in understanding their own interests, and in making a bargain ; and he would entertain no doubt of their ready subjection to the authorities over them (p. 111, 112).

Mr. Duncan believed that wages would induce the Negroes to labour when free, and that they would labour harder in a state of freedom than they now do. They now want the stimulus of remuneration, and that makes the toil hard which would otherwise be light. Cane-hole digging, though hard, is not harder than the work of English labourers, nor harder than that which is voluntarily undergone by many free persons in Jamaica itself. He has known such exert themselves in their own grounds, and at their trade, more than the Negroes in the cane-holes. Whether sugar would be raised in the same quantity as now in Jamaica if the slaves were free, he would not pretend to affirm ; but that sugar might be raised he has no doubt, nor that numbers would labour in raising sugar for wages. There need be very little change in the mode of remuneration ; the labourers might have land and increased time for their own use, only having the Sabbath as a day of entire rest (p. 113).

Mr. Duncan further stated that he had had, over and over again, the testimony of masters, attorneys, and overseers, to the beneficial



effects of religious instruction in improving the morals of the slaves, and in restraining the disposition to thieving and licentiousness, and he had seen it himself in a thousand instances. The very same moralizing effects are produced by it in Jamaica as in England (p. 113).

He doubted on what footing sugar cultivation might stand, in the case of emancipation; but he believed that a great number of the present slaves, attached as they were to their domiciles, and having their provision grounds already planted on the estates, would be desirous of remaining where they were, and would continue to cultivate sugar for wages. If they had money enough to obtain land of their own, they would doubtless prefer cultivating that. With the twenty-six week days they now have, and the Sundays, they are able to raise food for their comfortable subsistence. He had heard few complaints on that head, and he mentioned it with very great pleasure. A day and a half in the week, however, is the very least that can suffice, allowing Sunday free. Seven days in the week could not fail to put him in a state of the highest comfort, if he had land in possession; and if he had land, and his time, he would soon have property. In case of emancipation the money possessed by the slaves would be expended in buying land, and forming settlements of their own. Land would then rise in value, and at length be as much out of their reach as it is now out of the reach of the peasantry of this country. The greater part of them, however, would not be able to obtain land. They have now provision grounds cultivated and ready to their hand; they would be reluctant to leave them, and, if encouraged by the master, they would be willing to remain and labour on the sugar plantations. They receive now no food from their masters that he ever heard of, but a few herrings or other salt fish, occasionally. If free, they might pay a rent, by labouring for their former masters. The black labourer might give, say four days' labour in the week to the master, to cultivate sugar, and employ two days for himself and family. If he could do better in any other way he might prefer it; yet those who had lived long on certain estates, where they had been born and brought up, and where they had become familiar with sugar culture, would, he believed, be willing to remain and give labour in return for a certain portion of land which the owner might let them have. But if they could purchase, or rent,

land of their own, some<sup>3</sup> might prefer it. He had no idea of their attempting to possess themselves forcibly of it (p. 113, 114).

He did not know how much time it took the Negroes to raise their food ; but the time allowed them was not more than enough for that purpose, and the little additional comforts they required. Some were well clothed, others very badly, although all of them are desirous of appearing as fine as they can. In labouring on their own grounds they generally appear very diligent, but the labour is not severe. They work with the hoe. In general they are very anxious for conveniences, and even finery, and they work very diligently, and even laboriously, in their grounds ; but they have often to go a long way to market ; and what between this and planting their provisions, and keeping them clean, and gathering them, and preparing them, carrying them home, and taking them to market and selling them, their time is generally fully occupied.

It is not possible for them, but in rare instances, to attend both church and market, even when the church is contiguous to the market. They cannot quit their marketing till it is finished, and then the forenoon service is over. In the afternoon they are obliged to return home early, especially in crop time, when they must be home to put the mills about on Sunday evenings.\* There is, therefore, no time to sell their provisions and attend chapel too (p. 115). In point of fact, they scarcely ever do attend market and chapel on the same day. In the former case their secular engagements seem wholly to engross them. In St. James some few attended both, but crop time lasts there for six months, and the necessity of being at home to put the mills about rendered it generally impossible. At Montego bay the market was chiefly supplied by slaves, and it probably may be so in Kingston and other places. The Negroes obtain money by selling hogs and poultry, as well as provisions, especially the head men. Other Negroes who have peculiar advantages have hogs and poultry, but they complain of the overseers' often shooting their hogs and taking their poultry—sometimes for straying, sometimes from mere wantonness (p. 119.)

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\* There is a law against putting the mills about on Sunday evenings, in Jamaica, of which the Jamaicans make a great boast. This evidence shows how ill it is observed.

If compulsory manumission were the law of the island, some slaves would be able to buy their freedom, but not many as compared with the whole population (p. 117).

The fish allowed to the slaves is given them, not on the Saturday, but, according to the statement of the planters themselves, on every alternate Sunday, except in one or two parishes (p. 117).

Inconveniences might possibly arise, both to master and slave, from any great and sudden change, like that of emancipation, as they arise more or less from all great changes. But it is Mr. Duncan's firm opinion that, even if the Negroes were emancipated at a stroke, there would not be that loss or disturbance which must ensue if emancipation is long delayed. Emancipation might take place with perfect tranquillity, if a proper police were established. The public peace, however, would be very seriously endangered by any long delay, or without a reasonable hope of early emancipation. He does not take it upon him to say what would precisely be the effects of emancipation ; but he is persuaded that if one set of labourers could not be got to work on a particular estate, another would. In the event of freedom, the resources of the island would be rapidly developed ; machinery would be more employed ; and the Negroes, he is convinced, would labour in general, as they do now, for a remuneration, only with more heart, and with more profit to the master. They would in that case, he fully believes, cultivate sugar as they now do, and go through all the process of cane-hole digging and the duties of the boiling houses. Their inducement to this would be the desire of liberty, and of their own profit, so natural to man. He would himself rather dig cane-holes all his life, than have all the money on earth and be a slave ; and the Negroes partake of that feeling. It is infinitely more ardent in their minds, as late events have proved, than was supposed. The Negro could raise provisions indeed, but he must first acquire land on which to raise it, and if he had not property he must labour for it. They would, it is true, rather pay a rent in cash than in labour, but either would be equally beneficial to the master. The 300,000 Negroes of Jamaica, if they possessed the land themselves, would have no inducement to work for others, if they could work for their own profit. But few of them could buy land at first ; and if emancipation were universal, land would be more difficult to get than now. At present their provision grounds are not generally disturbed, but still

complaints are often made that after having cleared, and planted, and cultivated their grounds, they are taken from them by the overseers; and, though this injustice may not be general, yet the grounds are secured to them by no legal tenure. It is not a common case; but when it does occur the complaints are very loud, and the overseer has certainly the power to do it. Mr. Duncan had heard of the difficulty which Mr. Simon Taylor had experienced in inducing his slaves to allow some cocoa trees of theirs to be cut down which were supposed to interfere with the healthiness of their houses on Holland estate, but his forbearance was mentioned as a rare instance of disinterestedness, and eulogized as highly as language could praise any thing. As to what would be the actual result of emancipation, Mr. Duncan could not venture to predict; but his hope was that the Negroes would desire to retain their provision grounds, and that masters would feel it their interest to secure as many willing and efficient labourers as possible, and that they would make bargains for certain portions of ground in lieu of certain quantities of labour. This would be the mutual interest of proprietors and labourers, and that they would feel; and therefore the slaves would be ready to comply with any reasonable overtures of the masters. If the property of the master in the slave ceased, the right of the slave to his ground would also cease, and a new bargain would have to be made. The slave would still feel his dependence on his master, notwithstanding his freedom, and the master would be able to say to the slave, "There is the ground which is no longer yours, as you are a free man, but mine; but, if you will continue to work for me, you will have for your labour that land and so much time to cultivate it." He could have no doubt, from his knowledge of the Negro character, of their acceding to any such reasonable proposition, if made by one on whose veracity they could rely; and, as to the religiously-instructed slaves, there would, in his view, be no difficulty whatever. The religious slaves, too, are considered by the others as their best friends and advisers; and as for enforcing such contracts, and ousting from their grounds those who failed, an active police could easily enforce the law. In St. Thomas in the East, for example, the number of Methodist converts is from 3 to 4,000. Their influence over the rest was demonstrated during the late insurrection. The slaves of St. Thomas in the East were as much agitated as in other parishes, yet the influence of the religious



slaves was so great that, while the whites of the parish were all absent, engaged in militia duty, a planter from that district stated that the Negroes there took off the crop as well in the absence of the white people as if they had been present. In the Plainain Garden district of St. Thomas in the East, here chiefly referred to, religion has existed longer and been less opposed than in most other quarters. In Manchioneel district, on the contrary, where religion had been constantly opposed, the Negroes were very troublesome and discontented; but where religion had been encouraged and embraced, while in other parts of the island labour was, to a great extent, suspended, there it was going on as well as if nothing had happened (p. 117, 118, 119, 120, 121).

With respect to opposition to religious instruction, Mr. Duncan had known as much made to zealous clergymen of the established church, and of the Scotch kirk, as to any others. The erection even of additional places of worship seemed to him to arise rather from a wish to appear in England more friendly to religion than they really were, than to promote the religious instruction of the slaves; and for this reason, that the most laborious clergymen had been always as much opposed as any dissenting ministers ever were. Of the general body of the clergy, about 42 in all, four or five have been very laborious among the slaves; and these have been as severely opposed as any Methodists or Baptists ever were. As for the established Scotch church, there is only one place of worship at Kingston, namely, Mr. Wordy's; he had been frequently there, and never had seen one slave attending (p. 122).

As to plans of emancipation, Mr. Duncan thought that all partial plans would fail of their effect. The best was that of emancipating all children born after a certain day, but even that was attended with great and perhaps insuperable difficulties. Still that would be better than nothing. The only plan not attended with very great, perhaps insuperable difficulties, is a general emancipation. Not that there are not great difficulties in the way of that measure, but they may more easily be overcome (p. 123, 124).

Mr. Duncan then entered into some explanations respecting the resolutions of the Methodist Missionaries in 1824, already adverted to, and which were disclaimed by their superiors at home. The only part of it we shall now notice is the case laid by the Missionaries be-

fore Mr. Burge for his opinion, and his reply to it, which tended to produce in the minds of the Missionaries the alarm which led to their rash and ill-considered resolutions.

The parliamentary resolutions of May, 1823, had scarcely reached Jamaica when, however unreasonable and absurd, it was stated, and generally believed, that the Methodist Society had something to do with them.—Very great prejudice, said Mr. D., was thus excited against us. It was threatened to shut up the chapels. Two Missionaries had arrived, and had applied for a license to preach in our parish; but the license was refused. An alien act was then in force, which was thought sufficient to enable the Governor to transport any suspected persons. It was even proposed that we should be transported as well as refused permission to preach. Here was a painful state of things, especially as it was uncertain what might be the sentiments of His Majesty's Government at home upon the great subject of religious toleration in Jamaica.—The Missionaries got alarmed, and they applied to a legal gentleman, Mr. Burge, to know what was the law of Jamaica upon that subject, and his opinion added greatly to their alarm.

The case laid before Mr. Burge, with his opinion, was read as follows:—

“To the Honourable William Burge, Esq., His Majesty's Attorney-General, Jamaica.

“The Reverend Francis Tremayne, Wesleyan Missionary, arrived in this island in March, 1823, possessed of the regular documents of his church, viz., a letter of ordination and certificate of license, obtained before the Lord Mayor of London, authenticated in the usual way by signatures and seal. At the first court of quarter sessions held at Spanish Town, after his arrival, he applied for and obtained a license to officiate in the precinct of St. Catherine's. After having laboured with success, and to general satisfaction, for twelve months in St. Thomas in the Vale, he was removed to St. Ann's, taking with him testimonials from the only magistrates of the immediate neighbourhood, of their decided approbation of his conduct, which letters were produced in the court of quarter sessions held at St. Ann's Bay, on the 13th ultimo, together with his letter of ordination, English license, and the license obtained in Spanish Town, in this island, at which court he made application for leave again to take the usual oaths, to

qualify him for officiating in two of our chapels which had been previously licensed by that court, which was rejected. Now the questions on which we would solicit your opinion are these—

“First,—Has not Mr. Tremayne sufficiently complied with the law to authorise him to preach in those chapels?”

“As I consider it necessary for the minister to qualify at the court of quarter sessions of that parish to which he removes, and in which he intends to officiate, and as Mr. Tremayne has not been admitted to qualify by the court of quarter sessions of the parish of Saint Ann’s, I am of opinion that he is not authorised to preach in that parish.—W. BURGE.”

“Second,—Is not one personal license obtained in any parish in this island sufficient to qualify a man for the whole or any licensed house?”

“I do not consider that one personal license obtained in any parish in this island is sufficient to qualify a man for the whole or any licensed house.—W. B.”

“Third,—Provided that one personal license is not sufficient, and a Missionary with such documents is denied the privilege of thus re-qualifying in any court of quarter sessions, can such a court be compelled to re-qualify such a person by writ of mandamus or otherwise?”

“I am of opinion that, if he is possessed of all the documents above referred to, and the court of quarter sessions refused to admit him to qualify, such court might by mandamus be compelled to admit him.—W. B.”

“Fourth,—What could be done provided a Missionary, with only his regular home documents, should be refused a license by a court of quarter sessions in this island, could he have redress by a writ of mandamus or otherwise?”

“If the Missionary had not officiated in any parish, and consequently had not obtained his license from any court of quarter sessions, as in the case of a minister on his first arrival in the island, and had therefore only the documents authenticating and evidencing his ordination as a minister, I consider that the court of quarter sessions might by mandamus be compelled to admit him to qualify.—I cannot conclude my answer to these questions without impressing upon the serious consideration of the Wesleyan Missionaries the very great inexpediency, both as it regards the welfare of their institution in the island, and the public repose of the island, of engaging at a crisis so

agitated as the present in any litigation with the local magistracy on this subject. With the limited information that is possessed respecting the distinguishing tenets of different religious sects, it is not surprising that many persons of great worth and great liberality should entertain, from the conduct of the Missionary Smith, at Demerara, strong feelings on the introduction of any Missionaries. It would be highly imprudent, and quite at variance with the correct conduct of the Wesleyan Missionaries in this island, to incur the risk of increasing or confirming those feelings by any litigation with the magistracy.—W. BURGE." (p. 125.)

Now it was under the alarm and apprehensions thus produced that the resolutions were hastily adopted.

Mr. Duncan was residing at Kingston when the late insurrection broke out. He had resided two years before at Montego Bay, and therefore well knew the quarter in which it broke out. The causes he thought obvious.

1st. The ill-judged policy of the British Government, which, instead of conciliating the planters, as they vainly hoped, had greatly exasperated them. Had they carried the emancipation at once, in 1823, less loss would have resulted to the master, and far less misery to the slave. Vehement excitement, and discussions without end, were the consequence. The slaves heard and knew all this; for the planters were not very careful in expressing themselves before the slaves.

2nd. The parochial meetings, and the resolutions there adopted, in 1831, which were of the most violent character,—stating that the king's government wished to take their property from them, and make the slaves free, and that they would renounce their allegiance rather than submit to this, being determined to hold their slaves in bondage.—The slaves said naturally enough, "our masters tell us the king wants to make us free, but they will not submit, but keep us slaves still." This was their impression. Now the king has not more loyal subjects in the wide extent of his dominions than the slaves of Jamaica. They will do any thing for him. They revere his very name. Believing the two parties were at issue, they had no difficulty in taking their side with the king.

3rd. The unceasing opposition to religious instruction, in different districts of the island, on the part of the planters. And while the religious slaves desired religious liberty that they might benefit



by their teachers, the more unprincipled and uninstructed availed themselves of this desire to diffuse principles injurious to the peace of society.

4th. Mr. Beaumont's bill for compulsory manumission. Many Negroes hailed it with high satisfaction ; they thought it would pass, and, when they saw it thrown out by an immense majority, they gave way to a feeling of despair, and seeing their masters determined to keep them in slavery, though the king wished not, they resolved to rise and take their freedom.

5th. The dread of having the island transferred to the United States. Now not only the slaves, but the free classes, are enthusiastically loyal, and their hatred to America is as deep and deadly as their attachment to Great Britain is warm and devoted. A flame would have burst out before this but for the people of colour, who, it is known, would be ready to oppose the very first movement of the kind. *They* would not submit to such a thing ; they hate the very name of America, and every thing that is British is dear to them as a body.

Mr. Duncan said that the plans of his majesty's government had produced evil. But this was not because they were evil in themselves ; on the contrary, they were wise and moderate, and, if they had been acceded to by the planters, they would have done good : but the planters, instead of falling in with the views of government, uniformly opposed them. It would have been far better for the planters had the slaves been made free at once ; for all opposition must have soon subsided, and it would only have been the effervescence of the moment.

Being asked how many of the whites would have remained in the island afterwards, he replied, the whole of them. It might have been followed by some inconveniences ; but there would not have been either that loss to the planter, or that misery to the slave, which has been caused by the violent opposition of the planters to every wish of the government. It was his calm and decided opinion that emancipation would not tend to the effusion of blood, but that the attempt to perpetuate or prolong slavery certainly would. Even now, the violence of the whites in their persecution of religion, the destruction of places of worship, and the oppression of missionaries and their converts, was exciting an unwonted irritation in the minds of the slaves

and free classes, who were prepared for stern resistance to farther outrages. Even the less religious part of the coloured people felt deeply interested in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and they were bent on actively resisting any farther attempt to infringe them. Yesterday letters were received stating that one of the Wesleyan missionaries at Falmouth was attacked by a mob of white men, who entered his premises armed with bludgeons; bedaubed him with tar; knocked down himself and his wife; attempted to set fire to him, and to throw his infant child out of the window. The timely interference of the people of colour prevented all the mischief that was intended; but, when the missionary went to lodge informations against these rioters, he could get no magistrate to take his depositions. Such things must lead to blood: indeed the prolongation of slavery must lead to it. Emancipation would be perfectly harmless compared with this state of things. Indeed so completely has the law proved ineffectual for the protection of property, that the people of colour seriously talked of arming for its defence (p. 140). Besides, the systematic opposition of the planters generally, and with a few bright exceptions, to that religious instruction for which the slaves are so eager, joined to their growing thirst for civil liberty, increased ten-fold by late events, must be fatal ere long to the public peace. Whatever dangers, therefore, there may be in emancipation, they are very greatly exceeded by the danger of prolonging the present system. The slaves who were executed died exulting in suffering for the sake of freedom; and this is a feeling likely to increase. Without a reasonable prospect of early emancipation, it was his firm and deliberate opinion the peace of the island cannot be preserved for any thing like five years (p. 131—134).

Mr. Duncan then stated the case of Henry Williams, a slave, of the cruelties practised on whom, on account of his religion, a full account will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (see vol. iii. p. 356, 384, and 431). During the late insurrection, the estate to which Henry Williams belonged was left under his care, and he preserved it from all disturbance. He was, nevertheless, arrested, tried, and severely punished, at St. Ann's bay, "for holding unlawful meetings, and administering unlawful oaths!" This Henry Williams is a very intelligent person, who can read and write. On the last night of the year, he did what is customary among the Wesleyans: he spent it in

religious services with a few of his friends. There is also a custom among the Methodists of renewing, in their chapels, on the commencement of the new year, what they call their covenant with God. As the chapels were then shut, and the missionaries forced to leave the parish, Henry Williams read over with his friends the form of this covenant or engagement; and, as is also customary, he and they lifted up their hands in token of assent. Some one having given information of this circumstance, Henry was apprehended, taken to St. Ann's bay, tried by a slave court, and sentenced to be flogged and to six months' hard labour, in chains, in the work-house, from which he effected his escape, a circumstance which Mr. Duncan regrets, although the many cruelties he had patiently borne before, and the injustice and severity of the present proceeding, seem to have subdued his constancy. He possessed great influence among the slaves, and the effect of these proceedings towards him must be bad (p. 141, 142).

Mr. Duncan then gave some account of the Colonial Church Union of Jamaica, composed of the magistrates and most influential persons in each parish. The objects of the Union were to "resist the encroachments of their enemies;" to furnish "an antidote to the falsehoods of the Anti-Slavery Society;" to collect "the whole strength of the island, and to obtain therefrom a general petition to the legislature, for the expulsion of all Sectarian missionaries;" "to strive to regain the confidence of their slaves, by a more rigid discipline in the first place," and next "by granting every indulgence that may be merited;" "to lend their influence and support, on all occasions, to those patriots who, on behalf of the paramount laws of society, hazard their personal responsibility for our preservation," and "to obey promptly and implicitly all constitutional orders of the Union." One of the resolutions adopted by them was to request all proprietors to restrain their slaves from attending any dissenting chapel. Many members of these unions are Jews (p. 142, 143).

After the most rigid enquiry, it did not appear that one Wesleyan convert was concerned in the insurrection. Some of them had successfully defended their masters' property. In no case does it seem possible that slavery and Christianity can long exist together. But, in the present state of excitement in Jamaica, it seems quite impossible that any efforts of Christian ministers can keep the slaves quiet in their present state (p. 144).

The hostility of the planters to religion has exceedingly increased of late. The growing efficiency of missionary labours and Sunday schools has aggravated it greatly (p. 144).

Mr. Duncan was present, in the House of Assembly, on the 3rd of March, 1832, when the Order in Council of the 2nd November, 1831, was discussed. One member, Mr. Barry, after a long and violent speech, moved that the order should be thrown over the bar and burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Mr. Stamp was not for proceeding so far; but, if the British government should try to enforce it, they had, he said, 18,000 bayonets, and with such a force they would never submit to the dictation of the King's ministers. This was known to the slaves. The speeches were published and read by them, and many blacks too were present in the House at the time (p. 145).

Mr. Duncan, being asked whether the hostility of the planters to religion was not a dislike of particular sects, rather than of religion generally, replied that, wherever Christianity was promulgated, light was diffused in many cases where the religion was not embraced or obeyed, and that light could not but make slavery odious. Slavery was incompatible with the known rights of mankind, and the ideas of justice, which Christianity recognized and enforced, and must ultimately fall before it. Christianity in Europe extinguished slavery, by its influence both on the master and the slave. Ministers of the gospel were bound indeed to inculcate obedience on the slave as a duty; but Christianity also binds Christian masters to free their slaves. The slave is required to obey his master, till his condition is changed; but the duty of the master is to "let the people go." This view of the matter was avoided by the missionaries in Jamaica; but the slaves who could read had access to newspapers where slavery was discussed. The influence of the island press was very injurious to the cause of Christianity, particularly in exciting the opposition of the planters. He alluded to the Jamaica Courant, the Falmouth Courier, the Cornwall Chronicle, and other papers. There was a paper on the other side, the Watchman, but he did not think it so hurtful; for, though it advocated the cause of the slaves, and exposed the oppressions of slavery, yet it inculcated obedience on the slave (p. 427).

When asked whether he persisted in saying that religion was



opposed, when taught by the ministers of the Church of England and Scotland as well as by sectarians, he said he adhered to that opinion, and he believed that neither the increase of the clergy, nor the addition of places of worship, arose from any wish to give *effective* instruction to the slaves, but to make people at home think they were friendly to religion, if taught by the Church. He did not scruple to say this, though it might appear uncharitable, that such, and even worse, was the general case, judging from what he had himself seen. Many of the clergy do not labour at all among the negroes; those of them who do so, with zeal and unwearied diligence, as some of them, about five or six, do, are as much opposed and maligned as any Methodist, even by persons professing to be members of the church. It is *effective* religious instruction, whether oral or otherwise, to which the planters are opposed, but especially to the slaves being taught to read. The clergymen to whom he alluded had themselves told him of the severe opposition they had to encounter. They were discouraged in every way, and their characters traduced. This was quite notorious (p. 150).

Mr. Duncan denied the allegation of the missionaries drawing *large* contributions from the slaves. The contributions they received came mostly from the free—not a fiftieth part came from the slaves (p. 151).

Being asked whether he thought the condition of the slave was more comfortable now than when he first went, twelve years ago, to Jamaica, he said he did not think so (p. 152).

Mr. Duncan produced a memorial that had been addressed to the governor, Lord Belmore, in April, 1832, stating the destruction of a number of their chapels by lawless mobs, and that, having discovered the authors of these outrages, they had furnished the Attorney General with informations, on oath, but that no step had been taken by him to bring the offenders to justice; that their missionaries were prevented from performing their duties by threats and violence; but that, notwithstanding these circumstances of outrage and oppression, they were happy in being able to affirm that not one individual connected with their societies, whether free or slave, had been connected with the late insurrection. They therefore solicited the governor's interference. On the 21st of April the governor's secretary transmitted to them a copy of a letter from the Attorney General, stating that no unnecessary delay had arisen, and that he meant to institute proceedings

against the offenders at the next June grand court, but complaining that the complainants had not bound themselves in recognizances to prosecute, and had not held the offenders to bail: all which, as Mr. Duncan had said, was surely his duty, and that of the magistrates, and not theirs (p. 153).

Mr. Duncan has certainly known slaves suffer severely from the pecuniary distress of their masters, being driven from their grounds, perhaps converted into jobbing gangs, or put in gaol for their debts. But he cannot say that the slaves are the best off on the most prosperous properties.—Their education depends almost wholly on the disposition of the owner or manager (p. 156).

Mr. Duncan had known the marriage of slaves opposed by their masters in a great many instances, and this could not be ascribed to a dislike to sectarians, but to religion itself. When he has enquired into the objections on the part of the master or overseer, it was of this kind:—"I will not allow you to get married, you may live as I am living myself." This has been the general and almost only reason assigned in all parts of the island. In 1826 two respectable slaves, who had been living together in the usual way, applied to Mr. Duncan to marry them privately, as their master would not consent. Mr. Duncan refused; but, the Negroes intreating him with tears in their eyes, he wrote to their master (a Mr. William Rae of Kingston) a respectful note, saying he had no intention to interfere between him and his slaves, but intreated him to consider the case. The Negroes took the letter, and when he read it he tore it in pieces before them and gave no reply to it. A few owners and attorneys, but very few, encourage marriage; but in general they are very adverse to it, and the general answer is, "You may live as I do" (p. 157).

Our readers cannot fail to be struck with the honest boldness, and at the same time with the clear and comprehensive views, and sound principles which mark the evidence of these two Wesleyan missionaries, Mr. Barry and Mr. Duncan. They reflect credit on those who appointed them; and it must afford general satisfaction to have such clear and indubitable indications as their evidence affords, of their calm and dispassionate judgment, as well as of their enlightened zeal and unshaken courage.

#### IV.—THE REV. THOMAS COOPER.

The next witness was the Rev. THOMAS COOPER, a Unitarian minister, who had lived on the estate of Georgia, in Hanover, belonging to Mr. Robert Hibbert. The slaves, he said, had a weekly allowance of herrings from their master, the adults seven or eight, and the children half. For raising food they had land on the back part of the estate, which they cultivated on Sundays and on the 26 days allowed them by law. The time allowed, exclusive of Sundays, was not sufficient: besides which they must attend market on the Sunday; so that they must labour the whole of the time allowed them, and on Sunday also, to provide for themselves and families in any thing like comfort, the chief part of their subsistence being derived from their own labour. The grounds were too distant to allow of their working upon them in the intervals of their labour during the working days. Their surplus provisions they carried to market, to which they had often to travel 13 or 14 miles and back. Some were nearer the market. The least time that could enable a slave to live in comfort, he thought, was 78 days in the year, besides what little they had from their masters. Two days in the week, or 104 days in the year, would have been sufficient, he thought, to support them entirely without the master's aid. He had never known a slave to possess more than 30 or 40 dollars. If emancipated, he thought the slaves would be better labourers and better members of society. The free were highly respectable, as compared with the slaves. They were as much disposed to industry as the people of this country. He saw none idle among them. Many accumulated property, both as settlers cultivating land, and as merchants in towns. He thought that the best way of procuring labour from manumized slaves would be to pay a fair rate of hire for their labour. He had seen brown men very industrious as carpenters, &c. He had never known them work in the field as labourers, but he had known them work as boilers. He had no fears that the Negroes would return into the woods if emancipated: that would be placing themselves voluntarily in poverty and distress. That they would be industrious if free, he felt well persuaded, as he had never seen any tendency to idleness in those that were free. If they were free and worked for wages, labour would no longer be disgraceful, as now. The free coloured are rising in intelligence. They send their children to schools to be educated.

Mr. Cooper had known whites living on parochial relief: he had never seen free coloured persons in such distress as to require it. He thought that in case of emancipation a few able and well disposed men would keep a Negro village in order as effectually as our police keeps London in order. A total change, however; would be required in the magistracy. The free coloured people, he believed, were loyal. They formed a part of the militia. He never heard any distrust expressed of them by whites. The Negroes had no hope of liberty when he was in the island. They submitted to their state as a great but unavoidable evil. They seemed like persons in despair: they had no hope whatever. They were sometimes gay, and danced and jumped about. In general they exhibited that sort of gloom which must arise from being oppressed without any hope of rising. He did not recollect hearing them sing, as they returned from work in the evening: they were generally too fatigued. They sometimes had dances at night; but the planters disliked it, thinking it added to their exhaustion (p. 138).

It was doubtless possible to teach the slaves to read and write, but it was not thought consistent with the master's interest to give time for that purpose. Even the children he taught were not kept one day from work. As soon as they were fit to go to the field; they were taken from him. There was a general and very powerful prejudice against teaching them to read. He had been sent by Mr. Hibbert to instruct his slaves, and no one actually obstructed him, but he had no encouragement. He had never known a plantation slave who could read. In general, at that time (1817 to 1821), the slaves had no means whatever of religious instruction. There was no hindrance to Mr. Cooper's going on neighbouring plantations, but the overseers did not like that he should communicate with the slaves. The overseer of Georgia did not directly obstruct him, but he told him he considered the teaching the slaves a very injurious thing; and the clergyman of the parish said that Mr. Cooper was training up generals for the black army: he did not object to teach them the Lord's prayer, and the being of a God (p. 139).

Mr. Cooper had employed Negroes for hire as carpenters, and in his little garden, and they worked very well. The free blacks often complained to him of the difficulty in obtaining payment for the work they did for white people (p. 139).



Mr. Cooper had written to Mr. Hibbert to say that, if the slaves were taught to read, he thought they would certainly soon cease to be slaves; that, in proportion as they were enlightened, they would be dissatisfied; and that, when they came to see their real condition, they would themselves alter it. On Mr. Cooper telling Mr. Hibbert this, the latter begged him to discontinue teaching them to read. It appeared to him that the slaves submitted to their condition on account of their degraded state, but if instructed, and taught to read and to understand the principles of Christianity, they would at once discover the wrong done to them, and there would be a general resistance, if no means were taken to make them free; and such was the universal opinion among the planters in Jamaica. He quite agreed with them in thinking that knowledge diffused among the slaves by reading was wholly incompatible with slavery. Slavery considers them as animals, goods, and chattels. Instruction considers them as men; and if knowledge be widely diffused among them, and emancipation be not given them, it will be seized by force (p. 140).

On Georgia and other estates, it was the duty of the book-keeper to go to the Negro grounds on Sunday, to see that the Negroes were at work there. In these cases, at least, the overseers thought that it would not do to depend wholly on the diligence and providence of the slaves for their support, but that they must be superintended even then.

## V.—MR. HENRY LOVING.

MR. HENRY LOVING resided at St. John's, in Antigua, and was proprietor and editor of the Antigua Weekly Register. In 1821, by a census, the population of the island was 1980 whites and 4066 free coloured persons. There has been no census since, but in 1828 pains were taken by himself and some friends of his, coloured gentlemen, to ascertain their numbers, and they made the total 5400, being an increase of 1334 in 7 years. This account excluded the intermediate manumissions. This account was not published then: it was not thought prudent to do so, lest the authorities should suppose they had an improper motive in exhibiting the superior strength of the coloured as compared with the white class. Of late years marriage has become much more common among the free persons of colour. Formerly, concubinage pervaded all classes, even the highest, and the force of

example carried it through every rank. This change he regarded as owing to education and religious instruction, which of late had greatly advanced (p. 159).

A corresponding improvement had also taken place in the slave population. From an early period, though the Established church was asleep, the Moravians and Wesleyans were very active in the work of religious instruction, and very successful too. And, since the appointment of a bishop, Antigua has been greatly favoured by having such clergymen as Archdeacon Parry and Mr. Holberton. That gentleman is Rector of St. John's, and has endeared himself greatly by his indefatigable exertions in diffusing religious knowledge among the slaves. Schools have multiplied, and there is a unity of feeling between the clergymen and the sectarians, which promises the best results. The schools under the established clergy having more ample means, and being also zealously superintended, have flourished much, and things proceed very cheerfully. The slaves in Antigua are the most intelligent and best instructed in the West Indies. Formerly, few were taught to read : now great numbers are so taught—some even on plantations. Having known Antigua from infancy, he can say that marriage has increased as religion has been diffused. He had refrained from conversing with the slaves as to their feelings about freedom, thinking it imprudent to do so ; but, though he could not say that they were positively restless under their slavery, he thought it impossible their minds should be enlightened, and yet remain so debased as not to desire freedom. He had never seen any tendency to tumult in the slaves of Antigua, till the month of March, 1831, when the Sabbath market (their only market day) having been taken away by the legislature, and no other day substituted for it, a revolutionary movement took place among them, which was alarming, and they seemed determined to resist the operation of the law (p. 160).

Mr. Loving believed his newspaper was read by the slaves. He did not know of any who were subscribers to it, but many copies are purchased for ready money, and doubtless some of these by slaves.

The slaves had been in the habit, from time immemorial, of bringing their articles to market on Sunday ; for they had no other time for doing so, having no other day given them by law. But, in alleged compliance with the wish of the Government at home, the legislature, in 1831, abolished marketing on Sunday, and thus, as no other time

was given them in lieu of Sunday, in fact abolishing marketing altogether for the slaves.

The Negroes have some ground allowed them, but no time in which to cultivate it. They have an allowance of food by law.\* Some proprietors, however, allow their slaves occasionally a little time, but by no fixed rule. The effect is that Sunday, instead of being religiously observed, is, in great part, devoted by the slave to labour for himself, either on his ground, or in some other way (p. 161).

The free blacks in Antigua, of whom there are many, are on all occasions willing to labour for hire; and they work cheerfully as jobbers, porters, hodmen, &c. They do not labour on plantations. Proprietors would not permit them, lest they should poison the minds of the slaves. Besides, no free black would willingly quit his present pursuits to go and labour on a plantation. Whether the present slaves, if emancipated, would do so, is another question.

There is no doubt whatever that the Negroes have a very great relish for the comforts and conveniences of life. Hence arises the very great industry with which they use every moment of time they can redeem from the hours of interval from labour. After a slave has done his master's work at night, he will travel perhaps six miles with some little article to sell to add to his little comforts. At the same time he would not probably overwork himself to obtain mere luxuries (p. 162).

Cane-hole digging is certainly very hard work, especially under a tropical sun, and still more as the whole gang are obliged to work together, the weak with the strong. Many of the slaves, when emancipated, might not like to engage in plantation labour, disgusted as they are with it, and deeming it a kind of punishment; but necessity

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\* The allowance is a very scanty one indeed. It is fixed by the 1st clause of the slave law of 1798, viz.—Weekly to every adult slave, nine pints of corn, or beans, or oatmeal; eight pints of wheat, or Indian corn, or Cassava flour, or seven pints of rice, or twenty pounds of yams, with one pound and a quarter of herrings; and, to children, half of this allowance—the whole being diminished by one-fifth in crop time. This is little more than half of the prison allowance to runaways in Jamaica. By the same law, two jackets, and two pairs of trowsers, are annually given to male slaves, and two petticoats and two wrappers to females. But only one suit need be given, if a blanket and hat be given. The hours of labour are the same as in Jamaica, viz. eleven hours and a half (clause 10).

would compel them to accept of wages for labour. Besides which, they are much attached to the place of their birth, or what they fondly call their "born ground." Their early associations are formed there; their huts, their little fruit-trees are there, and there they have their family ties. They are well aware, too, that they cannot get food without labour or money; and nothing but a hatred of their master would induce them to leave the estates on which they now live. A part of them might, from a sense of former hard and cruel treatment, and a hope of bettering their condition with lighter labour, put down the plantation hoe; yet most of them would feel the necessity of continuing to labour at such labour as they had been accustomed to. If they could get land by renting or purchasing it, he thinks they would prefer any other culture to that of the sugar-cane (p. 163).

Much, he thinks, might be done by the planters to lessen the necessity of manual labour on the estates, by substituting machinery even in weeding canes. Some planters, wiser than the majority of them, use the plough, and it might be used to spare cane-hole digging almost entirely; but the planters generally have a distrust, he knew not why, in the benefits of machinery (p. 163).

Mr. Loving thinks that about nine-tenths of the slave population of Antigua attend some place of religious worship. Religion certainly will not teach men to take up arms and shed blood to obtain freedom; but undoubtedly religious knowledge cannot but be attended by other knowledge: it tends to expand the mind, and leads the slave to see the wretchedness of his condition, as compared with that of the free. The contrast is very great and striking, both physically and civilly, between the slave and the free. The latter has the use of his own faculties both of body and mind. *Morally*, many of the slaves are superior to many of the free; but, in point of the comforts of life, the free black in Antigua stands infinitely above the slave. He can earn as much in a day as the slave gets from his master's allowance in a week. This is remarkably illustrated in the case of the African apprentices emancipated in 1828, to the number of 400. Their conduct since proves a good test for ascertaining the fitness of the present slaves for freedom. With a solitary exception, none of them had committed any offence, down to July, 1831, when Mr. Loving left the island, and they were then pursuing a course of industry for their own support. They lived near him, and were occasionally employed



by him ; and he saw with his own eyes their industrious habits, their desire of property, their love of fine clothes, and their efforts to imitate the speech, manners, and dress of the creoles, and in these respects some of them had already surpassed the creoles. A great part of the laborious work of St. John's is done by them. They are fishermen, mariners, bargemen, hodmen, porters, domestics. Agricultural labour had been forbidden to them by His Majesty's Order in Council respecting them. But, besides this, since their liberation, no planter likes to employ them, from a fear of their instilling into the minds of the slaves notions of liberty. Many of the women are active hucksters. Many of them, amounting to about twenty, have already purchased their own houses, including three freeholds ; and only one man and five women had been thrown on the bounty of the Crown, and this by medical advice, they being declared unfit for labour.—Mr. Loving had been at pains to authenticate these facts. Apprehensions were entertained and loudly expressed by many in Antigua of the state of mendicancy and wretchedness to which they would be reduced, and of the consequent burden that would fall on the public ; but proved totally groundless. There may have been among the Africans persons of bad principles (it would be strange were it not so) ; but their general conduct has been quiet and orderly. After all, their greatest crime is what in a slave colony is termed their insolence ; but those who make this charge do not consider that these Africans had not forgotten the freedom of which they had been robbed, and had sense enough to know that they could not be treated as slaves with impunity. Some of their masters and mistresses attempted so to treat them ; but as the indentures strictly forbade this, and the apprentices resisted it, an incurable rankling against them has been left in the minds of the defeated party. As for any danger from the Africans there is absolutely none, though some jealousy may be entertained of them by the slaves, who see these newly-imported persons thriving as they do under the effects of their freedom. Some of them have attached themselves to the Moravians, and some to the Methodists. He did not know that education was general among them ;—still they were all sufficiently enlightened to know that they ought to conduct themselves as good members of society. Hence only one case of petty larceny had occurred among them before July, 1831. They were not above the slaves generally in Antigua in respect to

religious instruction and knowledge; nor do they despise the slaves. They sometimes intermarry with them, and their social intercourse with each other is unchecked. This adds to the danger of delaying emancipation. When they intermarry with slaves, it is always before sectarian ministers. The clergy of the church are forbidden by law, under a penalty of £50, to be parties to intermarrying a free person and a slave (p. 165, 166).

The African apprentices were liberated by proclamation of the Governor. They were only required to exhibit proof that they could maintain themselves, and having done so they were all immediately made free. Their certificates of freedom were printed by Mr. Loving (p. 166).

#### VI.—THE REV. JOHN THORP.

The Rev. JOHN THORP was Curate of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica, for upwards of two years, from 1826 to 1829. He had known many emancipated slaves, but had never known or heard of any who were in want, or who lived by crime, or who hired themselves to plantation labour. They would regard it as a degradation to work with slaves, and they had also employments more profitable than field labour. There might not exist the same hindrances if slavery were abolished. The slaves in Jamaica are fed with food cultivated by themselves, with about six salt herrings a week to each adult, and half to each child, from the master. They maintain their children as well as themselves from their grounds, being allowed 26 days in the year for that purpose; but that is not enough; they work also on Sundays. The time allowed them is clearly not sufficient, as they are forced to work on Sundays also. Indeed, he remembered one instance, on an estate called Stanton, where some slaves who would not repair to their grounds on Sunday were assembled in a gang, and compelled to do so, and fed in the interim by the master. In general the slaves work in their grounds on Sunday. The surplus they raise beyond their wants they carry to market. The daily duration of field labour in Jamaica is eleven hours and a half. In St. Thomas in the East they do not usually gather grass afterwards. In crop time there is no legal limit to their night labour. The usual time of sitting up in the night was six hours. When the gangs were large this labour was lightened. In general, the slaves in crop time worked 18 hours out of 24. Their

labour, during the day, appeared to him severe and exhausting (p. 167—169).

The attendance of the slaves in his church was about 80. They were chiefly plantation slaves. They were clean in their dress; the head Negroes in white jackets and trowsers, the others in Osnaburgh. They did not wear shoes. The women generally appeared at church in a muslin dress. He had known two or three hundred emancipated slaves, and he knew them to be well behaved and industrious, not shrinking from hard labour—having a great desire for the comforts of life. He never knew them to work on sugar estates. He has known them to raise provisions, and bring them to market. He thought that the slaves, if emancipated, would be willing to work. His duties, as a curate, carried him occasionally to a few estates on which religious instruction, but only orally, was permitted by the owners. He visited 24 estates in this way, superintending some free brown catechists selected by the rector, Mr. Trew. He never visited the slaves in their houses. Reading was permitted to be taught on Sir George Rose's estates at Coley and Morant, but not during the owner's time. It was merely for half an hour during the dinner interval, twice a week. The number taught to read was only one in 38. When he went on the estates, he met the children at the boiling house, or at the house of the overseer. He knew no difference in the aptness of children to learn in Jamaica and in England: he had been much engaged in teaching the children of the peasantry in this country, both before and since his visit to Jamaica. The children were of the age of from six to fourteen. Their parents had a strong desire they should be taught. The adults did not attend on the estates, though they showed their desire for instruction by coming to the Sunday schools. The oral mode of instruction Mr. Thorp deems quite inefficient, but, when united with reading, the effect was good. He never had any conversation with the slaves respecting freedom, having been warned by Mr. Trew of the peculiar state of society in Jamaica. On the same ground he abstained from questioning overseers on the subject. He found, however, that the proceedings in this country about slavery were well known to both slave and free—they having access to the newspapers. Mr. Thorp, however, saw no symptoms of disaffection when he was there, except that he heard frequent complaints of the extent and exhaustion of labour, and of the consequent exclusion

from the means of religious instruction. Those means were at that time more abundant than in any other parish, and there was an improved moral feeling among the slaves. For, in St. Thomas in the East, not only was religious instruction to a considerable extent afforded by the rector, but the Wesleyans had three chapels largely attended by slaves (p. 170—172).

Mr. Thorp had seen the slaves cultivating their grounds and taking provisions to market, and not only supporting themselves, but their aged relations, by their own labour. He understood that the law compelled the owner to support the aged slaves; but certainly the law was not carried into effect; for, in cases he knew, they were supported wholly by the exertions of their relatives, without any thing from the owner but their small allowance of fish, and grounds which they were not able themselves to work, but which their relations assisted in working. He could not tell that the time so occupied was not made up by the masters, but his strong impression was that it was not\* (p. 171).

Then follows a number of questions respecting the influence of general as distinct from religious knowledge; on the nature of police regulations proper to be adopted; and on the degree in which the emancipation under such regulations would be partial or complete: they elicited, however, few or no material facts, and therefore may be passed over (p. 172, 178).

#### VII.—THE REV. WILTSHIRE STANTON AUSTIN.

The Rev. WILTSHIRE STANTON AUSTIN is a clergyman of the established church. The insurrection in Demerara, in 1823, he conceived, arose from the ignorance in which the slaves were kept of the real purposes of government, and the excitement produced by their being led to believe that privileges had been conceded to them by the king which their masters withheld from them. Knowing, however,

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\* The law on this point sounds plausibly to an English ear, but in fact it goes only to prevent masters from permitting their infirm or diseased slaves to become mendicants, or to wander from the estates, and this obviously as a regulation of police, to prevent the annoyance to the public, rather than to secure a provision for the slave. See clause 17 of the Act of February 19, 1831. It does not interdict quartering them on their relatives, or prescribe the allowances to be made them.



as he did, the feelings and habits of the slaves, he did not imagine that the grant of entire freedom to them would endanger the public peace, especially if the slaves were allowed to cultivate the land from which they now draw their food. There would be no danger of either the young or the old suffering from want with their fellows around them able to give assistance; he never had seen natural affection more strongly exhibited than among the Negroes. Their wants indeed are few, and the soil is fertile; but yet such is the desire of the Negro to improve his condition, that he would make equal exertions with the European, if his inducements to labour were the same. A slave working for himself is a very different being from a slave working for his master: in the former case he labours cheerfully and willingly. On his father's estate, in Surinam, he was in the habit of employing the slaves to execute the work of the plantation by task, and he found that a reasonable day's task would thus be performed in much less time; and that when a double task was assigned to a man and his wife, the wife was sent to attend to her domestic affairs and prepare the comfortable meal, while the husband completed the task of both in the usual time allotted to labour. In Guiana and Barbadoes the slaves at present are fed by provisions raised by the gang as a common stock, which are dealt out to them by the master. If the slave were allowed to feed himself, and were paid wages for his labour, the master might be relieved from all his present heavy expenses for food, clothing, medical charges, and the cost of providing for children and for the aged and infirm, and the master would be greatly benefited by the labour of the slave. It was his father's opinion, as well as his own, that if his 250 slaves were emancipated, and he could place them around him as a peasantry, paying rent for their houses and grounds, and having also wages for all the labour they did for him, he should be a great gainer. That he could not carry this plan into effect was owing to a heavy mortgage on the estate, comprising the slaves. Had he tried to treat them as free labourers, while they were still in fact slaves, the experiment, under existing circumstances, must have failed; and if he had emancipated them the mortgagees would have interfered. He had seen in Guiana four instances of slaves emancipated and land given to them, on which they not only raised provisions, but also canes, which were manufactured into sugar at the master's mill for half the produce.

In short he was convinced that the emancipation of the slaves might be made compatible with the cultivation of sugar, and probably in equal quantities as at present, and at no greater cost. This, however, was only opinion, not experiment. The desire of the slave for comforts and luxuries is very strong, and would induce him to engage in constant profitable employment (p. 179—182).

There are in Surinam two settlements of emancipated slaves, with which he had had much intercourse. Their employment was to cut and saw timber into planks, and bring it down from the interior; and also their surplus provisions, as rice and yams, and other articles, which they bartered for whatever they wanted, besides accumulating property. Mr. Austin had in his possession 10*l.* to keep for one man; and he knew a friend with whom as much as 300*l.* had been deposited by various individuals belonging to those settlements, the produce of very hard labour; at least as hard, if not so regular, as the cultivation of sugar. Under all the circumstances of the case, his own clear opinion was that West Indian property would be improved, and not injured, by emancipation; and, as for danger to the public peace, that, he thought, would be lessened, not increased, by it. So strong was his belief of this, that he should not hesitate to return thither with his family in case of emancipation, while nothing could tempt him to return to the West Indies if slavery is to continue. He has large reversionary interests in prospect both in Guiana and in Barbadoes, and though those interests are in slaves and not in land, so that he himself might be a sufferer by the change, it was his decided feeling that, with a view to the general interests, emancipation was desirable (p. 183).

The free settlements spoken of are not settlements of Indians, but of Africans who had forcibly emancipated themselves, as stated in Stedman's History of Surinam, and with whom the Dutch had entered into a treaty, which has been pretty well observed on both sides; and instead of being a source of danger to the colony, they are now a great protection to it. He had never heard of any want among them; and, though he had had much intercourse with them, he had never seen one of them intoxicated. Their settlements were not very far from the cultivated parts of the colony, but they did not themselves raise sugar or coffee. They are a very handsome, well-formed race, with their features sharper and more raised than the Africans generally.

They consist of persons from different parts of the colony, escaping from slavery, and uniting to defend their liberty. Their number is not known; they are jealous of enquiries on that point; but the reports vary from 10,000 to 20,000. They are very prolific, and their habits are very favourable to their rapid increase. They speak what is called Negro-English, a compound of English and Dutch and African. The Bible has recently been translated into it by the Moravian Missionaries, who have planted a mission there. The settlers allow no other Europeans to reside among them. Mr. Austin made one or two attempts, but did not succeed. He had, however, frequent intercourse with them on his father's estate for a few days or even a week at a time. Generally speaking, they were heathens, with the exception of those converted by the Moravian missionaries; but their mission commenced only 15 years ago, and since Mr. Austin's intercourse with them had ceased (p. 184 and 185).

Mr. Austin stated that his opinion of the safety of emancipation was derived from his knowledge of the character of the Negroes. They were naturally peaceable, and they would be still more so when the great boon for which alone they had to contend was conceded to them. Their habits of submission, and their respect for the superiority of the whites, he thought would remain with them. What course the planter might think it right to pursue he could not pretend to say, but it would be obviously his interest to hold out every inducement to the emancipated slaves to continue as labourers on his estate. As he could have no other labourers, there could be no fear of want of employment for a time, though indeed the richness of the soil would hold out temptations to persons emancipated in the other slave colonies to migrate to Guiana (p. 186).

In Demerara the slaves had little opportunity of attending religious worship. There were only two clergymen and four missionaries, for a population of 90,000 of all classes (p. 186).

Mr. Austin had never known slaves buy their own children's freedom; but he has known parents, after being emancipated themselves, redeem their children. As slaves, had they had the means, they would have been most eager to do so, even in preference to redeeming themselves (p. 186).

In the island of Barbadoes he had seen one or two cases of blacks begging about the streets; but whether they were slaves or free he

could not tell. The number, however, of such persons was extremely small indeed; while white beggars swarmed in many parts of the island. He had even seen such relieved by the slaves (p. 187).

The free blacks and people of colour whom Mr. Austin had known were remarkably industrious as mechanics, hucksters, and in a variety of ways; and though not indeed as field labourers for others, yet as labourers on their own plots of ground. He had known Negroes of good character, both in Demerara and Barbadoes, when emancipated, continuing to live near their former master or some kind friend, raising small patches of cane, which when ripe were sent to the master's mill and manufactured for a half or a third of the produce, as might be agreed. This, however, is much disapproved of by masters generally, from the same feeling which, in this country, leads a farmer to disapprove of his labourer growing wheat or barley, suspecting that, if he had a bad crop, he would help himself from his master's field (p. 187).

In Demerara, as late as 1822, the marriage of slaves was a thing unheard of, being considered as incompatible with slavery. This was his official reply to a question put by the government of that day (see the parliamentary returns for 1823, No. 89, p. 81). Such marriages were in fact discouraged by the planters and the governors. Two persons applied to Mr. Austin to be married, and the fees of the Secretary's office were so high that he was obliged to send them to the Methodist Missionaries to be married. They being desirous of marriage, and Mr. Austin refusing to admit them to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper till they were married, he saw no other course. Marriage appeared to him incompatible with slavery, because, under the law of Demerara at that time, the husband and wife might be separated so as never to meet again. The law may now be different; but, previous to 1824, the husband and wife might be separated. Marriage is now more encouraged than it was then (p. 188).

Mr. Austin said that his conduct, in respect of Missionary Smith of Demerara, had caused a wide breach between him and his relations in the West Indies, with all of whom, excepting his father, all intercourse had ceased for a time. He was not without fear that the evidence he was now giving might produce a similar result. But he was so deeply interested in the cause of Negro emancipation that he should be ready to promote it at any hazard or sacrifice. There was a time, he admitted, when he felt somewhat differently on this subject, or rather



in his views of Christian principle and duty concerning it. As those views became clearer, he was more fully convinced of the incompatibility of religion with slavery. His opinions had never been opposed to those he now held ; but they were so affected by early prejudices and views of interest as to lead him at one time to regard Mr. Wilberforce, for example, as a great enemy to the West Indies. Reason, experience, reflection, and better feelings had led him to a different conclusion now. He then thought only of the injury emancipation might inflict on the planter ; but he had latterly thought of the wrong done to the unfortunate Negro and his unoffending offspring, condemned to perpetual bondage. Even in 1821 he had expressed opinions in Demerara which Governor Murray considered as dangerous, and which proved a bar to his promotion, leading the governor to suspect his being connected with the African Institution in this country. The Governor particularly objected to his opinions respecting the education of the slaves, and said he would banish any missionary who should attempt it. To these views, and to his advocacy of the missionary Smith, he conceived he owed the hostility of the Governor, and his loss of preferment to the chaplainship of the colony on the resignation of Mr. Strahan (p. 189, 190).

Neither in Guiana, nor in Barbadoes, did the law require the owner to allot land to the Negroes ; and, in point of fact, it was not the practice generally to do so, though in the former it may require the owner to provide a sufficiency of food for his slaves. He was certainly not aware that either the law or the practice of Demerara was to allot land to the slaves. Being asked whether he knew the estates of La Belle Alliance, and the Land of Plenty, he said that he knew them ; they belonged to two uncles of his, and that the slaves of the latter were most kindly treated ; but he was not aware, nor did he believe, that on those estates grounds were allotted to the slaves ; neither did he know that from the slaves on those two estates any thing was brought to the market in George Town, but pigs and poultry occasionally. Being further asked whether he meant to state that it was not a fact that the market of George Town was supplied by provisions brought thither by the Negroes, he replied that some planters, one of them a friend of his own, sent its main supply to that market ; that the Negroes certainly had it in their power to carry to market, from Sunday to Sunday, any trifle they might have, but, generally

speaking, it was only fowls or pork. The Negroes from time to time had Indian corn given them by their masters, and might possibly grow a little themselves, as Indian corn was of particularly easy growth, and cheap and abundant, and with that poultry are fed. The plantain too, at some seasons of the year, abounded, and, when ripe, is a very nutritious food for pigs as well as poultry; but the slaves had not, as far as he knew, grounds of their own. They were, it is true, abundantly supplied with plantains, but they had little else in the way of food (p. 191).

When he knew the free Negroes who had emancipated themselves, and were placed in back settlements in Surinam, he found no religion among them, and at that time religion occupied so little of his own thoughts that he should never have thought of questioning them about it. He only knew they were sober. He never saw any drunkenness among them; but, among the slaves, drunkenness was common when they could obtain spirits. The free Negroes were also very punctual in all their engagements with himself. The free Negroes were also as far beyond the slaves in appearance, and in their manners and habits, as the gentlemen of England are above the peasantry (p. 192).

Frequent attempts had been made at education, and by himself among others, and they were successful till interrupted by the insurrection. He had commenced his own contrary to the wishes of the Governor, after having been deterred for some time by the fear of losing the prospect of preferment held out to him. After many conflicts with himself, he had at length opened a large Sunday school, which, down to the time of the insurrection, interested him much; but whether after he was driven from Demerara his successor continued it he could not tell. The children he found very apt to learn, and very eager for knowledge. There was no provision made by law either for the education or for the religious instruction of the slaves; but the missionaries, and also he himself, were permitted to instruct the slaves in religion, but not on the plantations. A few weeks before he quitted Demerara, two clergymen arrived there with that object in view, but before that nothing had been done under the authority of Government, nor was he aware whether oral instruction only was meant, or any other instruction (p. 192).

The Negroes throughout Guiana were, generally speaking, stronger and healthier on cotton than on coffee estates, and on coffee than on

sugar estates. There are, in Demerara, many free coloured persons. They are in very good condition, many of them rich, and none poor. As president of the board of the poor's fund, he was called to investigate all cases of distress. He remembers one or two cases where the cast-off mistresses of white men were reduced to great distress, but, with the exception of one or two other individuals in a wretched state of disease, he knew of no free Negroes who were claimants on this fund. The chief claimants were Barbadian whites of a very low description, and other white immigrants who had been unsuccessful in their speculations (p. 192, 193).

It was in consequence of his experience of the working of slavery that his opinions upon it underwent a change. By the time he had reached the age of thirty, he thought somewhat more seriously on the subject, and began to shake off the prejudices which had grown with his growth. He left Surinam because he was disgusted with the whole system. There was one thing which peculiarly disgusted and pained him, and which led to a separation, not in affection, but in labours, between his father and himself, and that was the flogging of women. He was so disgusted with that and some other points, that he gave up all connection with the estate. In Surinam, the Negroes were less heavily tasked than in the English colonies, but were more severely treated than in the latter. In Surinam, the Moravians are admitted on a few estates, and among them on his father's. There is no protector of slaves in Surinam; the slaves, therefore, are more at the mercy of the planters than they are in the English crown colonies since the appointment of protectors there. There is, he believes, no protector of slaves in Barbadoes (p. 193, 194).

Mr. Austin said that he had no connection with the Anti-Slavery Society. He had come as a witness on this occasion at the instance of a friend, Mr. Z. Macaulay.

He thought a more gradual plan of emancipation would meet the views of the planters better than one that was immediate; and, feeling interested himself in West India property, he should, on the whole, prefer the former to the latter; but he had no fear that immediate emancipation would affect the public peace in any way. As for the slave, he viewed him as at this moment fit for emancipation. He should think of any modified plan only in the hope of reconciling conflicting interests. Of course, if education went on, each day would render

the slave more fit for it. All such plans as freeing the children and apprenticing them to their masters were liable to great and numerous objections, both as respects the master and the slave, and they would not satisfy the slaves generally. Notwithstanding the great facility of acquiring uncleared land in Demerara, the slave, he thought, would prefer land already laid out, as the most laborious work is that of felling trees, laying out new land, and trenching it. The Governor could undoubtedly grant the slaves new land, but it would be easier for the slaves to cultivate land already in cultivation. The owner of an estate might let it out in portions to the slaves; and, as slaves are fond of the spot where they have lived, they would prefer to buy or rent land of their masters to planting themselves in new situations (p. 192, 193).

#### VIII.—VICE ADMIRAL THE HON. CHARLES FLEMING.

Admiral FLEMING thought the slaves greatly improved since he had first been among them. He did not regard them as at all deficient in natural capacity. If they were at once emancipated, he had no doubt, from what he had seen in Cuba, Caraccas, Bahamas, and Trinidad, they would not only maintain themselves, but cultivate the land as well as it is now. The slaves are not industrious except when they work for themselves, but when they do they are very industrious. He has had slaves who worked for hire most industriously; but, when working under overseers, they did as little as they could. He did not think that in Trinidad and the Bahamas the slaves were much dissatisfied, but in Jamaica they were generally much dissatisfied; and, during all the time he was there, he was in fear lest all that has since occurred should happen there, and he feared the same still. In the Bahamas there are no sugar plantations, and the slaves are not worked in gangs, and there slavery is as light as it can well be. Still, even there, they ardently desire freedom, and are availing themselves of the law for compulsory manumission as much as they can. In Trinidad, the slaves appeared better treated and better fed, and, being mostly Catholics, the priests have a great influence over them and keep them quiet. Trinidad is under the excellent laws of Old Spain, and the slaves have efficient protection from the slave protector. In Jamaica, the slaves have no protector, and the magistrates, generally, neglect their duty. If the hope of



emancipation were to be extinguished, they would not remain for a moment in hopeless slavery. The only reason they are now tranquil is the hope of emancipation by the Government. No island he had visited would be tranquil for a moment if that hope were cut off. If that hope be withdrawn, insurrection will soon take place. His reason for forming this opinion is the great anxiety they show to learn what is going on in England for their own emancipation, and that of their children. In the island of Jamaica, particularly, this feeling is very strong. He resided lately for eight or ten months in Jamaica, and, during that time, he was much in the interior of the island, and lived on a coffee estate, and near a sugar estate, on the Port Royal mountains; and, in going to his house and coming from it, he had to pass through the sugar estates of the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Wildman, and others. He had frequently been on these and other estates, seven or eight in all. At the place, too, where he lived, called Claremont, he had much intercourse with the free blacks, the whole district around being peopled with them and the free browns, who lived in great comfort with their families, having pieces of land of their own which they cultivated themselves. They also reared vegetables, and fowls, and pigs, and cultivated the sugar cane, and coffee, and all kinds of Indian corn, which they sold in Kingston market. Some of them had slaves of their own. Persons of high naval and military rank have little access to the interior of plantations, though they are always hospitably received. They would be expected, in most cases, to give notice of an intended visit, but, on some estates, there would be no objection made. He had observed no alteration in the dress of the slaves on those occasions. He had himself been turned off estates in Jamaica, but had visited others and gone through them without giving notice. He went thither last in 1827, and left it in 1830. The admiral's regular residence was at a pen two miles from Kingston. But, when the rains set in, he was obliged to quit it, and went to reside in the mountains, about 13 miles off. He lived ashore during his being in command there more than six months at one time, and, in all, about ten months. He had not only passed constantly to and from his residence to Kingston, Port Royal, and the admiral's pen, during that time, but travelled into St. David's, about 30 miles, three or four times. He was also at Stoney Hill, 11 miles in another direction. He went on several estates to observe the management, particularly Mr. Wild-

man's estate of Papine, which was very differently managed from the others. Former admirals resided still more on shore than he did. Admiral Halsted lived on shore the whole time. He was turned away once, but by mistake, from the Duke of Buckingham's estate, and also from Lord Claremont's, near Stoney Hill. He thought he had seen enough, during his last visit, to form a sound opinion of the increased intelligence among the slaves, as compared with their former state. They are certainly now not inferior to the white people in intellect. He knew that reading; and listening to works read, were common among the slaves in Jamaica. He had seen a person reading the Gazette to a gang of slaves.

The Admiral was asked "*Was that at Mr. Wildman's?*" He answered it was a jobbing gang, belonging to Mr. Sinclair. The slaves generally are strongly excited to acquire knowledge; and their knowledge of what passes here and in Jamaica must put an end to slavery soon. He had viewed insurrection as probable all the time he was in Jamaica, and its occurrence was no surprise to him. The debates in the House of Commons and in the local legislatures are quickly known. When the slave law of 1829 was disallowed, the fact was instantly known to the slaves. It was even known the next day at thirty miles from Spanish Town; and he found it was known at his mountain residence when he went up, as well as all the way up to it. He was assured that, by means of hawkers and pedlars, news were conveyed to the whole of the interior, and publications diffused in a very short time. He did not believe that there had been any amelioration of the state of the slaves with respect to labour, punishment, &c., while their intelligence was thus increasing. The instrument carried in the field by the driver is called a cart-whip; he had never heard it called by any other name. It differs from a waggoner's whip: it is a cart-whip. It is laid aside on some estates, but not generally. He never heard a doubt till now of its being called a cart-whip. He had extensive intercourse with persons of all classes in Jamaica, and the driver's whip was always spoken of by them as a cart-whip. He had now one in his possession bought from the driver of a jobbing gang, who was using it in the field at the time (p. 198--201).

The Admiral had been more in Cuba and knew more of it than of Jamaica. The number of free people there is very great. The whites there are about 380,000, the free coloured 136,000 to 150,000, the

slaves 200,000 or 220,000. This he drew from public documents ; but the returns are somewhat confused. They are made up by the priests in the different parishes. The free people generally are in good condition in Cuba; many of the browns, and of the blacks too, are very rich. He had never heard in Cuba any complaints of a want of industry in the freed classes. A great many of them are employed in cultivating sugar in Cuba. Even some whites work in the field in Cuba, who come from the Canaries, and manage all the indigo culture. He had himself seen the free people digging cane-holes, and some of them work their whole estate without slaves, growing the canes, and selling them to persons who boil the juice. He could not tell how many were so employed in Cuba ; the number was considerable ; and when they were deficient in hands at any time on such sugar plantations they hired additional labourers, at two pisettas, or 18d., to half a dollar a day, sometimes more, usually paid in coin, but sometimes in goods. Some free persons manufacture their own canes, but more frequently sell them, as mills and boilers are expensive, to richer persons near them. They get back a certain portion in a manufactured state. The soil is richer than in our colonies.\* He knew one man who sold his canes in this way who had 45 acres in cane, all wrought by free labour. The estates are more extensive in Cuba than Jamaica, and portions of them are let off to free people. It was a continual subject of dispute with many intelligent persons in Cuba whether free labour or slave labour was cheapest. The English in general whom he met there thought slave labour the cheapest. One party argued that if the slave trade were stopped they could not cultivate the island. Another party held that they could. Many Cubans are against importing Negroes ; as the new Negro is always found to take part with the Government, being influenced by the priests so to do ; and the Government holds the slaves and free blacks over the whites as a rod to keep them in order. This alone has prevented the independence of Cuba, as of the other Spanish colonies. The domestic slaves in Cuba are equal in intelligence to those of Jamaica ; the

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\* So that now the secret of cheap sugar in Cuba is out. It is free labour ; and all the minute calculations of Mr. Keith Douglas and Mr. M'Donnell, *et hoc genus omne*, may be given to the winds as waste paper. See the massy labours of the Committee on West India distress reviewed in No. 97 of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

field slaves inferior : but in Cuba neither can read except some domestics. The same danger of insurrection certainly does not exist there as in Jamaica. There is little discontent among the slaves in Cuba. They can all obtain legal or compulsory manumission if they can make up the means, and thus free themselves, their wives, and children. They work generally by piece-work, and are not driven except on some estates held by Englishmen and Americans. The Spaniards of Cuba never drive. Freedom is never placed beyond the reach of any slaves in Cuba, and they may always change their master, even if they cannot pay their price, provided another is willing to buy them at their value ; so that if a slave is valued at 200 dollars, and B will pay the money, the slave may oblige A to sell him to B. The Admiral sent home all these regulations to Sir G. Murray, and they must now be in the Colonial Office. There is a compulsory manumission law in Cuba, and a tariff fixing prices. He could not find the law and tariff in Trinidad ; but he and General Grant found it at the Caraccas.\* The existence of this compulsory manumission in Cuba is a great cause of the difference of feeling among the creole slaves in Cuba and Jamaica. The *new* Negroes in Cuba, as formerly in Jamaica, are comparatively indifferent about the question of freedom. Accordingly the newly-imported Africans are not permitted to be worked with the creoles in Cuba, as they require a stricter discipline than the creoles. The creoles would not like to be put on the same footing with new Negroes. The creoles are both better behaved and better treated. The Spanish planters take pains to inculcate religion on their slaves ; the women teach the children born on the estates, and the priests attend every estate. The Catholic slaves are more submissive than those in the English colonies. He does not know what their religious state is in our colonies, but he believes very defective. He has seen the annual returns of manumissions in

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\* But how came it that these documents, transmitted by Admiral Fleming to Sir G. Murray, were not laid before that Committee? They would have saved a world of trouble, and no small expenditure in paper and press-work. Is there not some ground to suspect treachery in some of our former public functionaries in Trinidad, in having kept out of view these most important documents? Some enquiry into the matter seems to be imperatively called for, and we trust will be instituted.



Cuba; they are very considerable, but he is not in possession of them. They may be got either through the Colonial Office, or from the commissioners of the mixed Commission Court at the Havannah. The slaves in Cuba, working generally by task-work, have more time to work out their freedom. Besides they have the whole of their Saturdays, and all their saints' days,\* and they work much fewer days for their masters than in the English colonies. And this applies not to Cuba only, but to the Caraccas. Task-work prevails on the sugar estates not only in Cuba but Caraccas. He had been frequently in Cuba from 1827 to 1830, and on many estates. He had liberated 4000 slaves in that time from Spanish slave-ships. Holding rank in the Spanish navy, and speaking freely the Spanish language, he had peculiar facilities of communication. He was treated there with great attention and hospitality. Free labour he thinks has increased in Cuba. He does not think that slaves are cheaper in Cuba than in Jamaica. The price of a good new slave in Cuba is 250 dollars, or about £55 sterling. He paid £70 currency, or £50 sterling, for a good slave in Jamaica (p. 201—205).

An estate in Cuba, making 200 hogsheads of sugar, has about 200 slaves, besides carters and others, who are usually free. The slave trade in Cuba, he believes, is chiefly carried on by foreigners and foreign capital, as Spanish capital employed in it would be confiscated (p. 205).

The moral habits of the white people of the interior of Cuba are much superior to the same class in Jamaica. In Cuba a great many people live quietly with their families, cultivating their lands, and they are very respectable indeed. In the towns on the coast their habits seem much the same as in Jamaica (p. 205).

The importation of slaves into Cuba is chiefly not by Cubans, but by foreign adventurers and by Spaniards expelled from South America. Most of the old proprietors in Cuba will not purchase Africans. A few purchase them; but rarely. They are chiefly for new estates.

The law and tariff connected with manumissions bear, he thinks, the date of 1789. It is a written law, first published, he believes, at St. Domingo after the only insurrection that had occurred in a Spanish

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\* The saints' days are 30; added to the Saturdays they make 82, and to the Sundays 134.—See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 37, vol. ii. p. 233.

colony in the time of Ferdinand the Fourth :\* he sent a copy to Sir G. Murray, and one to General Grant. It is one of the laws of the Indies, promulgated by the King of Spain. By this law the slave is entitled to purchase a day at a time, paying the proportion of his price to the protector. His holidays or other days are never taken from him. He is fully protected, and has easy means of redress through the *sindico* or protector, and the priest. The bishops in Cuba, of whom he knew two, are very vigilant on this point. The slave confesses to the priest, and has free access to him on every plantation in Cuba. This is a great protection, and gives him an opportunity of stating his grievances. The priest was always looked to by the slaves in South America as their protector as well as the *sindico*. There is no such practice in Jamaica. Some Spaniards refused to buy new slaves from not liking to mix them with their creoles ; others, even the first merchants, from conscience, thinking it was a disgraceful transaction, and illegal. Many of them are high-minded people. The English he saw at the Havannah, and who thought that buying new slaves was the cheapest, were slave-holders from the West Indies. English officers were generally of a different opinion. He was fully convinced that there would be no more difficulty in the English colonies as to free labour than in Cuba, Caraccas, and Hayti, and in the Bahamas and Trinidad. On the sugar estates in Cuba there are more slaves than free ; but in the interior, where corn is grown and cattle reared, the free labourers are more than the slaves. If slavery were abolished by law in Cuba to-morrow, he does not believe the least confusion would ensue, or that one sugar estate would be thrown out of cultivation. There is no dislike in Cuba to employ free people in cultivating sugar, as in the English colonies. In estimating the profit of slave labour in Cuba the holidays must of course be taken into account : some owners give their slaves, besides these, two or three hours for going to mass (p. 207).

When Admiral Fleming first visited the Caraccas, in 1828, the slaves were all free after a certain age, females at twelve and males at fourteen. Many of the old Negroes were not free, but greater facilities were given them to obtain their freedom than even under the

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\* It was probably a republication, called for by the insurrection.

Spanish law. Funds were created for freeing them gradually. He never saw, during the three times he visited Caraccas, any confusion or disorder from this cause. And yet sugar was cultivated there and exported to a considerable extent. In all parts of the Caraccas sugar was grown and exported largely, though the export duty was high. There the free and the slaves worked promiscuously on the same sugar plantations. Cane-holing is carried on there, but the soil is rich and the canes seldom require to be renewed. Still he had seen cane-hole digging, and free blacks were employed in it on their own account. There the wages were ninepence a day and food. In the Caraccas he had heard the question of free and slave labour often discussed. The Spaniards and Columbians were generally for free labour; the Americans and English for slavery. The Spaniards and Columbians were in favour of freeing them all, even on the score of profit. The Marquis del Toro, a cousin of Bolivar, had immense estates; but his great number of slaves were worked as free labourers. Admiral F. had great facilities of intercourse with all of condition there. He was four months there at one time, and went 200 or 300 miles up the country. He availed himself of his facilities, and it was highly interesting to him to see a people newly emancipated, both from European oppression and from slavery, in their progress of becoming free. His opinion is, that the blacks in Caraccas are making rapid progress in civilization. Many schools are established, of which they anxiously avail themselves. Many are learning trades, and the desire of knowledge is great among them. They maintain themselves perfectly well without aid, either from their former masters or from government. The law of manumission was suddenly enacted by a decree of Congress, under Bolivar. Bolivar had previously freed his own slaves, and many of the principal people had done the same. There was no interference with the rights of landed property. Many of the proprietors of the soil, who had before wrought with slaves, cultivated it at once by free labour. No convulsion whatever was produced. A time was fixed when slavery should wholly cease. He did not recollect the year. It had not ceased when he was last in Caraccas, but it was gradually declining, and would be extinguished very shortly. There were not above a fourth of the slaves remaining then of those who were in slavery at the time of Bolivar's decree. He saw no traces of receding cultivation. It was even making a rapid progress, though

Caraccas had been the seat of war, and therefore had suffered greatly. During his second visit, he found the culture of wheat advancing rapidly, though it had not been cultivated formerly. American wheat is now no longer imported. Every body agreed that the culture had much increased. When he visited the Caraccas the second time, the improvement was manifest and rapid. There had been a year and a half of peace; party spirit had evaporated, and confidence was established. They were improving rapidly in agriculture and the arts. The revolution has tended to obliterate distinctions of colour; but the political disturbances had certainly retarded improvement, great numbers being employed in the armies. He had himself seen slaves and free blacks working together in the same field in the Caraccas. Field labour was no longer viewed as degrading there. The free might have obtained land to cultivate for themselves, on higher and colder regions, but they seemed to like the low warm country the best, and therefore readily continued to work on the established plantations. They certainly were not driven to sugar planting by necessity; they might have pursued other means of living. They might have got lands easily in the interior. They continued, however, to labour voluntarily and cheerfully on the sugar estates, and at much the same rate of wages as on other estates. The English who had estates there objected to employ the free blacks. They said they were not accustomed to that mode of working. He only knew, however, three Englishmen having estates there (p. 208—210).

General Peyango was a perfectly black man; but he was a well informed, a very well educated person, well read in Spanish history, and altogether an extraordinary man. Many English officers were serving under him. He knew many other black officers of very considerable acquirements in the Caraccas, and also in Cuba, and a black priest born in the Cape de Verds, a very intelligent man (p. 210).

The admiral referred for the particulars of the decrees about freedom, and the progress of manumissions, to the Caraccas laws and the Caraccas Gazettes, which may easily be obtained. There are commissions for freeing slaves, and the names of those freed are regularly inserted in the Gazettes. He repeated, confidently, that he had seen free persons labouring with slaves on sugar estates, not to the same extent as on other estates, for there was not so much of sugar raised as of other articles, as wheat, potatoes, cocoa, coffee, indigo, &c. There is



no more indisposition to grow sugar than other articles, but, in point of fact, he believed the majority of sugar cultivators were slaves, although he had no accurate data on which to rest. He was assured that the cultivation of sugar had increased in the Caraccas and Margarita. He could not tell how many were employed in sugar culture ; but the free population greatly exceeded, on the whole, the slaves. At the time emancipation was first declared, the numbers were about equal in the Caraccas. The slaves are widely scattered on estates over the country. They were not in huts as ours, but in a large square called Repartimento, where there is a chapel and an hospital, and a communication with the owner's house. A great many had entered the army, and thus became free. The time of the emancipation, he thinks, was 1821. It was not a time of civil commotion, but of tranquillity. The free blacks were numerous in town, and employed themselves industriously as other free persons. The blacks had not had much education, except the young, who are now in the schools. They were supposed, generally, to have embraced the Catholic religion. Slaves not taught were liable to be confiscated to the king. They could all, therefore, say their prayers and their confession of faith. They were all sufficiently instructed for that. Before the late insurrection, he should have had no fear of the same system of emancipation in Jamaica as in the Caraccas. Now, he should doubt whether it would be sufficient. They had not the excitement of the press in the Caraccas ; but they had the excitement of civil war, in which they took part. The civil war was between two parties in the State, but the slaves expected that if the liberal party succeeded they would be free (p. 211, 212).

Admiral Fleming had been in Hayti, in 1828 and 1829, for a short time. He had been there before, when the insurrection first broke out. In 1827 he understood that labourers were scarce. He did not hear that in 1829, and the people seemed then industrious. They worked for wages, and were paid in kind—he did not know how much exactly ;—the law said a certain proportion of the produce. He never saw any compulsion used. He was told that vagrants and deserters worked by compulsion, but he did not see any himself. He had never heard of any working under the lash. The lash was prohibited by law. The Haytians appeared to him the happiest, best fed, and most comfortable Negroes he had ever seen ; better off even than in the Caraccas ;

infinitely better than in Jamaica: there was no comparison between them. He could not speak positively of the increase of the Haytian population since 1804, but he believed it had trebled since that time. His belief, from the best testimony he could collect, was that it had increased threefold since 1804. This differed from Consul Mac Kenzie's report, but he believed it to be correct. They now fed themselves, and they exported provisions, which neither French nor Spaniards had ever done before. He did not recollect what was the population in 1804, but there were official documents on the subject. He had been in Hayti in 1797, when war was raging, and in 1828, and 1829, when things were quite tranquil. Things were greatly improved in the interval, as to the condition of the Negroes; for in 1828 tranquillity had prevailed for some years. There were no beggars in Hayti, and few in Jamaica. He saw a sugar estate near Cape Haytien, formerly Cape Français, general Bourlon's, extremely well cultivated, and in beautiful order. It was wrought by blacks, all free. It was very fine land, and had not been replanted a long time. A new plantation was forming on the opposite side of the road. The rate of wages was a franc, or 9*d.* a day, with victuals, and two francs without. Their victuals were very superior to those of Jamaica; consisting chiefly of meat, cattle being very cheap. The highest contract of beef in Hayti was 2*d.* In Jamaica it was 12*d.* He had no means of knowing the state of religion in Hayti, but all the people seemed to go to mass. He had no means of observing their moral conduct, but marriage existed among them. Promiscuous intercourse also, he believed, prevailed; but two Spanish priests with whom he had conversed said that things were improving, and that they believed marriage would become general. It was so now among the principal people. But, whether married or not, the children were well taken care of, and they lived together in families. It was not easy to distinguish them in their habits from married people. Though the ceremony might not have been performed, the tie seemed to be practically binding. They generally lived one man with one woman. The parents *do* provide for the children. He saw no marks of destitution any where. The country seemed improving, and trade increasing between his two visits (p. 212, 214).

The estate the admiral visited near the Cape was large. It was calculated to make 300 hogsheads of sugar. The whole was culti-

vated with plantains, and Indian corn or manioc intermixed. It was beautifully laid out, and as well managed as any estate he had seen in the West Indies. He was told that this estate, though so good, was inferior in fertility to others in the interior. The culture of sugar, however, was comparatively not much followed in Hayti. Their means of properly manufacturing it are indifferent, and they have not capital to set up sugar works again. The reasons assigned were the entire destruction of the former works, and the want of capital to re-erect them. They had also other and more urgent and profitable things to attend to. The Haytian government too seemed to think that they might excite jealousies in other countries if they went much on sugar. He had never heard the unwillingness of the Negroes to engage in it assigned as a cause: they were very ready to work if paid. Nor had he heard the high rate of wages assigned as a cause: he believed sugar could be made cheaper in Hayti than in our islands, if the Haytian government did not discourage it. The insecurity of the country is still a hindrance to expensive works. They are hardly out of their revolutionary state. When he was there, Spain had been making a claim on them for the Spanish part, and they were raising a large army to resist it. This occupied their attention and discouraged such undertakings. His official correspondence, as admiral, with the Haytian government made him attribute much efficiency to it, and it bore very strong marks of civilization. There was a much better police in Hayti than in the New South American States; the communication through the country was more rapid; the roads were much better; one had been cut from Port au Prince to Cape Haytien that would do honour to any government. A regular post was established. He had sent regular couriers from Cape Nicolas Mole to Port au Prince, a distance of 80 leagues. The government is one quite worthy of a civilized people. The government still feared an attack from France, even during his last visit; and this had the effect of retarding their progress. The convention with France had not been fulfilled. Only one instalment of the money stipulated to be paid had been paid. Hence partly their apprehensions. The people were very much against paying, and blamed the government much for agreeing to pay it. The Negroes of Hayti are certainly richer and happier and in a better condition than any he had ever seen elsewhere. They were all working in the fields when

he was there. He rode about very much. He did not think any acts of oppression were practised on the people of Hayti by the government (p. 213—216).

The emancipation of the slaves in the Caraccas took place, the admiral thinks, in 1821. Bolivar had taken refuge in Hayti some time before, for which benefit the Haytian government stipulated that he should emancipate his slaves, and he did so (p. 216).

He had frequently visited the Bahamas when last in the West Indies. There are more slaves there than free. Sugar is grown in small quantities both by slaves and free, but little or none is manufactured. Both are employed in growing provisions, fishing, and taking care of cattle, and in looking after wrecks. They are all very orderly, and no difficulty is found in preserving order. The proportion of free blacks and persons of colour is greater than in Jamaica: it is about one third. The liberated Africans there seem equally civilized with the creole slaves. The African apprentices, knowing they are to be free after a certain time, intermarry with free blacks, and they become civilized by this intercourse in a very short time indeed. In seven years they are quite equal to any of the creole slaves in our islands. They are all married. Concubinage is not permitted them. There are missionaries there who instruct them, and they are all required to go to divine worship. They are very industrious. They cultivate their own grounds, and also work for wages. The rate of wages in the Bahamas is about a dollar a day; but they do not get much employment, as it is only at a particular time of the year that they are wanted. The wages are high because there is not regular employment but at particular seasons. If there were regular employment they would take less. They all have land which they cultivate, selling the produce they do not want. They get nothing from government but the land. The free blacks, as well as the slaves, in the Bahamas, are much more moral than in any other colony except Bermuda. In Bermuda and Bahamas there is no sugar cultivation, and there certainly the black population, both slave and free, are much more moral than in any other island he had visited. There are more pains taken with them. Almost all are Christians. They go regularly to places of worship. They are married and much better treated. The proprietors are smaller proprietors, who live almost with the slaves, and are very kind to them. The slaves in the



Bahamas and Bermuda are quite a different race; they speak better English and are much more intelligent than those elsewhere. He had no hesitation in asserting that the best effect was produced by religious knowledge on their morals, manners, and civilization; and this he asserted on his own actual knowledge of the fact. The liberated Africans become, before their apprenticeships expire, as civilized as those born and bred there. He only knew of one of these Africans being punished all the time he was in the Bahamas. He lived frequently on shore there, and he could himself observe their great advance in civilization. He found in every cottage beds, and cooking utensils of all kinds. Their huts were better than in the other islands, perhaps because more exposed to hurricanes. They had comforts far beyond the mere necessities of life. They showed not the slightest disposition to return to the habits of savage life. On the contrary, in a tour he had made with the governor through the islands, he found that they all wished to acquire property; that many *had* acquired property; that their children were well taken care of; that they were well clothed, and the women dressed out in unnecessary finery. He had seen no exceptions to the general industry but in two old men, who could read Arabic, and were looked on as priests, and who, besides doing something for themselves, had also supplies from the others, who looked to them with veneration as old men.—He saw in Lane Island a man who came up and complained to Governor Grant of his having been kept longer than his apprenticeship. His master, being sent for, stated that he had kept him because he had five children, and, his wife having died, he could not maintain them if he were free. The man answered, “If with two hands I can feed them in three days out of fourteen, why should I not feed them all in ten days, go to market on Saturday, and to church on Sunday?” The governor freed him. Admiral F. saw him next year, on the land that had been allotted to him; he was in perfect comfort; his land was well cultivated, and his children were all taught to read. The blacks have taken advantage of the manumission law which exists in Bahamas; and then they either hire themselves to work, or rent land from the owners. The value of slaves, however, is not fixed in the Bahamas; there is no tariff. The exports from the Bahamas are salt, cotton, onions, pine-apples to the United States, platt, salt-fish, logwood, fustic, and other

woods. In all the labours of the Bahamas the free and the slaves are intermixed, and especially in cutting wood, which is the hardest work of all (p. 217—219).

He had often heard in Jamaica of transferring their allegiance to America, and it had a considerable effect in adding to the discontent of the slaves. He had heard this said in the presence of the slaves, particularly on the occasion of the disallowed slave-law of 1826, and on other occasions, and he then observed that they must first get the consent of the 300,000 slaves, which would be very difficult. There were slaves present at the time. He had even heard the same language used at his own table. "The conduct of the government," it was said, "would make the star-spangled banner be hailed with delight in Jamaica." One gentleman, on taking leave of him, said he perhaps should never visit the island again as a British Colony. That this conversation produced discontent among the slaves, he had learnt from the slaves themselves. They spoke to him frequently of it in the conversations he had with them at different times. They often asked him if it was true that the island was to be given up to the Americans. One man, who asked him the question, was Frank, a slave belonging to Prospect, who was a very intelligent person.—He had lived little with the white inhabitants of Jamaica generally; but some were always with him or he with them. He was much with Sir John Keane, who then lived in Kingston. He conversed much with the slaves, in going about, as he would have done with the peasantry in this country. Being asked whether he had not gone out with strong opinions previously formed, he said, No, till he had returned the last time to Jamaica, when he found that little or no improvement had taken place. He was very much struck with the difference between the slaves of the Bahamas and those of Jamaica. The condition of the former was very superior. At the same time, on many estates in Jamaica, the slaves were well clothed, fed, and used; but that was by no means the case throughout the island. They were not improved to the extent he had expected since 1797. He had been in the Negro houses of sugar estates in Jamaica: some of them had the appearance of comfort. He thought the slaves had much more cause to be discontented in Jamaica than in Trinidad. They are not so effectually protected in the former as the latter, from harsh treatment. On estates where the proprietor resides, and on some

others, they are well treated; but attorneys and receivers are often very oppressive. He thought that a general emancipation would now be less dangerous than no emancipation, yet more difficult than it would have been before the late insurrection. But any plan short of immediate emancipation, like that in Columbia, which should give protection to the slaves, and give them the certainty of ultimate emancipation, might perhaps avert danger and be more favourable to the interests of the planters. The danger is infinitely greater from leaving things as they are than from any even immediate emancipation (p. 219—222).

The following is the tariff which Admiral Fleming procured from the two Alcaldes in the Caraccas, who were in charge of the public documents of that colony. It was given to him on the 18th April, 1829. The value is here stated in sterling money.

	£	s.
Children of Eight days old . . . . .	7	10
Ditto of One year . . . . .	15	0
Ditto of Five years . . . . .	18	0
Ditto of Ten years . . . . .	27	0
Adults of Fifteen years to Forty . . . . .	45	0
Ditto of Forty-five years . . . . .	41	5
Ditto of Fifty years . . . . .	30	0
Ditto of Fifty-five years . . . . .	18	15
Ditto of Sixty years . . . . .	7	10
Ditto of Sixty-four years . . . . .	0	15

For each intermediate year a proportionate increase or deduction is made, as the age advances to 15 or rises above 40. If upwards of sixty-four, the slaves are deemed of no value.

From the age of fifteen to forty the slaves are valued at forty-five pounds; but if they have any particular trade, acquired at the cost of the master, or taught by him, the highest value is to be given, unless it be for their manumission. And where there is any blemish, defect, or disease, which diminishes their value, the value is to be lowered according as the blemish, defect, or disease may be considered to lessen their daily labour or the expense of their care.

The above was the tariff established at Caraccas in 1801; and it was also in force at Trinidad. This document could not be found at Trinidad, but Admiral Fleming discovered it at the Caraccas,

Many with whom he had conversed, at Trinidad and the Caraccas, admitted that this law was in force in Trinidad. A Columbian, in particular, of the name of Mundosa, told him that he himself had resided in Trinidad, and the law was then in force, prior to its capture by the British, and that he himself had had a slave emancipated by it. The law applied equally to domestic and field slaves. Admiral F. knew it to be common in Cuba, and that plantation slaves were freed under it (p. 239, 240).

Admiral Fleming also laid before the committee authenticated extracts from the Spanish Slave Code which he had obtained, by order of the governor of the Caraccas, from the proper officers there.

These laws are too long to be inserted here, but they breathe a spirit of morality and humanity which is highly creditable to the Spanish government. They provide for the careful instruction of slaves in the Catholic religion, and for their enjoying all the holidays of precept. They also provide for their food and clothing; for the regulation of their daily tasks, according to their ages, powers, and strength; prohibiting laborious tasks to the aged, or to children under seventeen, or to females, which last shall not be employed in labours unbecoming their sex, or in any which may oblige them to mix with male slaves. Time is also to be allowed to them for simple and innocent amusement, in which all excess in drinking is to be prevented. Separate dwellings are also to be provided for the unmarried of both sexes, and all their dwellings are to be commodious, and to have bedsteads, blankets, and other necessities; and there is to be a separate house for the sick. Various other regulations are prescribed, all bearing the character of great benevolence, for the temporal and spiritual interests of the slaves (p. 240, 241, 242).

#### IX. ROBERT SUTHERLAND, ESQ.

Mr. SUTHERLAND had visited Hayti four times since 1815. He remained there for some time in 1819, 1820, and 1821, and afterwards saw it in 1824 and 1827. His experience of the Haytians is that they are a free people, working for wages or for shares of produce, and not coerced to labour, except by their wants. Great numbers of them have land of their own, which they cultivate themselves, while others labour for hire, though the number of labourers for hire was complained of as deficient. The Code Rurale he did not



consider as an oppressive code by any means. There is decidedly no such thing in Hayti, practically, as compulsory labour. All corporal punishment is abolished in Hayti. Those who resided on their own farms appeared to him to live in the happiest state possible. Those who were employed for hire on plantations wrought five days in the week, having Saturday and Sunday entirely to themselves (p. 223).

#### X. THE REV. N. PAUL.

The Rev. N. PAUL is a coloured native of the United States, and a Baptist minister. An act was passed by the legislature of New York, in 1817, abolishing slavery in 1827. The number thus freed was upwards of 10,000. No means, that he knew of, were employed to prepare these slaves for emancipation, and no disturbance of any kind was caused by it, either at the time, or at any time thereafter; and he heard no complaints of the subsequent conduct of the emancipated persons. After their emancipation they became much more attentive to their religious duties, and were eager to acquire education. The general wages they obtained for agricultural labour when emancipated were from ten to twelve dollars a month and their provisions (p. 229, 230).

A number of slaves who have escaped from slavery in the United States into Upper Canada have formed settlements there. They had introduced the culture of tobacco to a considerable extent, and had begun to export it: it had never been thought of before.—They purchased their land of the Canada Company. They have been very industrious, and their moral conduct exemplary. They are generally either Methodists or Baptists, and their children are carefully educated. At their settlement of Wilberforce they have taken very effectual means to ensure sobriety: they have unanimously agreed to exclude ardent spirits. He visited these settlements as a Missionary, and did not find any distress among them, or any tendency to disorder (p. 231—233).

#### XI.—THE REV. THOMAS MORGAN.

The Rev. THOMAS MORGAN, a Wesleyan Missionary, resided in the West Indies seventeen years. He had been at Nevis, St. Kitt's, St. Vincent, Antigua, and Jamaica. In the smaller islands he was frequently on the estates, and had a good opportunity of judging

of the state of slavery. The Negro certainly possesses the ordinary powers of acquiring information in common with his fellow-creatures, and only requires they should be developed. He understands and profits as much as the people of this country by religious instruction, the beneficial effect of which on those who receive it is very manifest. At the same time it is impossible, under the present system of slavery, to carry religion to any considerable extent, on account of the inability of the slaves to attend religious worship. But the disadvantages they labour under in that respect are less in the smaller islands than in Jamaica. There was no reason to complain of opposition or discouragement in either St. Kitt's, Antigua, or Nevis. In St. Vincent there was at one time great opposition, but there was afterwards a better feeling. In Jamaica there were not the same facilities. In Antigua the Wesleyans may have preached on forty estates; in Jamaica only on one or two.—In the Leeward Islands, viz. Antigua, St. Kitt's, and Nevis, the slaves receive a small allowance from the master, consisting of Indian corn, corn meal, horse beans, and herrings. The allowance is not sufficient to maintain them. They are forced to supply the deficiency by working on Sundays; for no time in the week is allowed them by law. He had heard Mr. Rawlins, the Speaker of the House of Assembly in St. Kitt's, declare that it was impossible for the slave to subsist on what he received from his master, unless he worked on the Sunday. In St. Vincent 26 week-days are allowed the slaves for cultivating their grounds, as in Jamaica. He regarded the Negroes as a very industrious race, when they worked for themselves; and he had no doubt they would work cheerfully for fair wages in growing sugar or in any other way. The emancipated slaves maintain themselves very comfortably by labouring in various ways for their own benefit. He never knew them to work on sugar plantations. He had never heard of such a thing being proposed to any of them. Their conduct is usually quiet and orderly (p. 234—236).

Mr. Morgan apprehended no danger whatever from emancipation. He believed the slaves when free would follow their occupations, if fairly paid for their labour. He apprehended great danger, however, from continuing the state of slavery as it exists in Jamaica. The desire for freedom is very strong among all classes of the slaves, religious and irreligious, only that the religious are unwilling to take violent

steps to obtain it. They are very peaceably inclined. The emancipation, in his opinion, when it takes place, should be total, and not partial (p. 236, 237).

The free black and coloured people of Jamaica are rapidly improving in morality and knowledge, and many are acquiring wealth.

Mr. Morgan repeated over and over again his conviction that there was no danger in granting emancipation, under proper regulations of police, but the greatest danger in withholding it.

## XII.—THE REV. WILLIAM KNIBB.

The Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB is a Baptist missionary. He had been seven years in Jamaica, and quitted it in April, 1832. He was in that island during the late insurrection, and at Montego Bay, near the spot where it first broke out. He was well acquainted with the slaves in that quarter; many of them were Baptists; some of these took part in the rebellion, but none who were previously known to him by person. Of the congregation under his immediate charge three were tried at Falmouth and punished, but not capitally. He did not know whether they were guilty or not.—About Christmas, 1831, the slaves appeared to be generally dissatisfied. The reasons they gave for it were that a part of the time allowed them by law was taken from them; and that they were severely flogged, and, when flogged, were taunted by the overseers with their being to be free at Christmas. They came to ask him if that was true; and he told them that it was not true.—They complained also of being debarred of their religious privileges, and flogged for attending the house of God. The fact that such taunting language, about their expected freedom, was used by the overseers, was reported to him not only by slaves, but by a free man and a white book-keeper, who heard it used on Flamstead estate. It was a common topic with the planters that the Negroes were looking for their freedom at Christmas. After the rebellion many of the Negroes told Mr. K. that the parochial meetings had led them to believe it. He had heard nothing of it before from the slaves, except the enquiry to which he has alluded as to the truth of the rumour, and to which he had given a negative. He had heard, it is true, white persons using that language, but he did not believe it; he had not the slightest expectation of any rising; he thought it was idle talk, and that persons who so talked

did not really mean what they said.—Meetings had been held in every parish with the exception of Kingston, at which all who chose might attend ; and resolutions were passed to the effect of renouncing their allegiance to the British crown. He had himself attended that at Falmouth, and the question of emancipation was there publicly discussed. The meeting consisted of proprietors, attorneys, overseers, and others. The speakers were Mr. Macdonald, the custos of Trelawney, Mr. Frater, a member of the assembly, Mr. Lamonas, and Mr. Dyer. Mr. Frater was the chief speaker ; he and the others were very violent : they talked of resistance, if England continued to interfere with their property in slaves. There were black persons present, and they may have been slaves. He knew that slaves had attended at some of the meetings, and immediately conveyed the intelligence obtained there to their fellows. The insurrection arose partly from these meetings, partly from a knowledge of what was passing in England, and a belief that the king of England had resolved on freeing them ; and partly from an idea that the planters, to frustrate this design, were going to transfer the island to America. The hatred of American rule is very strong among the blacks and browns in Jamaica. He had heard some of them declare they would spill their last drop of blood before a Yankee should get a footing there. Their detestation of America is quite notorious. The reason of it is the contempt with which the blacks and browns are treated in the United States. The slaves also dreaded a transfer to America as rendering their freedom quite hopeless. They expected too to be aided by the king. This was stated to Mr. Knibb by a man under sentence of death, whom he was requested by the custos Mr. Miller, with the concurrence of the chief justice, to confer with. He had no idea of this till after the insurrection. He knew indeed they were anxious for freedom ; but, on the only occasion on which the subject had been mentioned to him, by any slave, as a thing looked for, he decidedly discouraged any such idea.

The occurrences which took place during the insurrection, and afterwards, plainly showed how intense was their passion for freedom. A man belonging to Round Hill estate went up to a party of soldiers and said, “ I will never work more as a slave ; give me freedom and I will work ; you may shoot me.” They shot him at once. The fact is stated in the Cornwall Chronicle.—One said if he had twenty lives



he would risk them all for freedom.—As far as he could learn it was not their intention at first to destroy property or to injure the whites ; but to insist on having wages at the rate of 2s. 6d. currency, or 20d. a day, the present rate of wages. But when the insurrection broke out they got drunk and fired the properties.—They certainly had inferred from the violent language at the parochial meetings, and the threat of giving up the island to America, that the king had made them free.—Many of the Baptist slaves were active in saving their masters' property. On Green park estate, in Trelawney, where there were many Baptists, they mounted guard every night, and defeated an attempt to fire the trash-house. They seized three of the insurgents and brought them to Falmouth, and were rewarded by the Assembly with £40. These men had come to him to say that the other slaves had blamed them for having arrested their fellows ; but Mr. Knibb commended them, and begged them to continue their exertions ; and, in point of fact, they defended the property to the last (p. 245, 246).

In the Baptist Societies there is a distinction between members who have been consistent characters, and have been admitted to full communion as being under the influence of Christian principle, and mere enquirers, who are on trial, as it were, and only admitted as members if their conduct and attendance are regular for a certain period, perhaps for two or three years, and also till they have attained some knowledge of Scriptural truth. They are in fact in a probationary state, and are often not admitted into membership at all (p. 146).

Various instances have occurred of rewards for good conduct bestowed on Baptists by the Assembly.—Charles Campbell, a slave belonging to Weston Favell, took charge of the estate, and preserved it from injury, and carried on the labours of it as at other times ; all the Baptists on the estate uniting to preserve order. He obtained his freedom from his master for what he had done. He was a deacon of the Baptist church.—A man of the name of Barrett, belonging to Oxford estate, also a deacon, acted in the same way, and has since had his freedom given to him.—A slave named George Prince, another deacon, had the entire charge of the estate committed to him with written instructions from the overseer, and he kept every thing in the best order the whole time of the overseer's absence. The same occurred on Carlton estate. The Baptists were numerous on all these properties.—Six Baptists were hung belonging to Mr. Bur-

chell's congregation ; none belonging to Mr. K.'s. Some were shot at random. In Mr. Cantlow's congregation out of forty-eight leaders two were executed. One of them, of the name of Francis Escrow, had his freedom for his good conduct ; but he lost his wife, who was shot by the random firing of the militia. He was required by the overseer to put a rebel to death, but he refused. On this the overseer seized a cutlass and with it literally hewed the alleged rebel to death in Escrow's presence. One of Mr. Burchell's deacons, named William Rickets, obtained his freedom for his conduct. Mr. Knibb had not heard of one deacon having been executed, and only of one or two leaders (p. 247, 248).

Mr. Knibb himself, and two other missionaries, Whitehorne and Abbott, were forced, by a militia colonel, to perform military duty, notwithstanding their remonstrances. They were after that arrested, and on the 2nd of January, 1832, sent as prisoners to head-quarters in an open boat, guarded by soldiers, and when they landed were paraded as prisoners through the open streets ; and, after being sent backwards and forwards from the civil to the military power, were confined in the Court-house, guarded by four soldiers, and assailed with reproach and insult, till at midnight they were permitted to go on bail, but without being told of what they were accused, to a private house in Montego bay, which house they were not allowed to quit. During the interval, however, Mr. Knibb was ordered down to the court-house to answer a charge of having been preaching contrary to an interdict of the militia colonel, Lawson. He pleaded that he had only been performing family worship in the house where he resided. A little time after he had been sent back, some gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Manderson, a magistrate, and Mr. Roby, the collector of the customs, and Mr. Lewin, came to inform him that fifty persons were coming with clubs to murder him and the other two missionaries. This was on the 7th of February, martial law having ceased on the 5th. The Baptist chapel was demolished on the 7th at noon by a mob of white men, though the commander in chief, Sir W. Cotton, was in the town with some troops, and there were king's ships in the bay. On hearing this, and that the same mob was coming to attack him, Mr. Knibb escaped with his wife and child and the other two missionaries, to Mr. Manderson's, and thence on board one of the king's ships. They were led to this step by the alarm they felt, partly from

the representations of their friends, and partly from the threats and scurrilous language of the newspapers, the Courant and the Cornwall Courier, which said they should be tarred and feathered wherever they could be met with. On the 14th of February Mr. Knibb obtained his release both from his bail and from confinement, by the following discharge :—

“ *Montego Bay, February 14th, 1832.*

“ Having examined the evidence of Samuel Stennett, Alexander Erskine, Adam, and Paris, against W. Knibb, Baptist missionary, and finding nothing therein to support a criminal prosecution, I declare the said W. Knibb discharged with his sureties from their recognizances.”

(Signed)

RICHARD BARRETT, Custos.

Being released from his confinement, under this order, without the slightest charge having as yet been preferred against him, though loaded during his confinement with injury and outrage, he returned to Falmouth on the 15th of February, where he found his chapel had been destroyed on the same day on which the demolition of that at Montego bay had taken place. His congregation there he found had been suffering great anxiety on his account, and they appeared delighted with his return. Persons came from thirty estates, containing perhaps 10,000 slaves, to enquire after him. They complained much that they who had defended their masters' property should suffer for the sins of others, and that their chapel should be destroyed, and no place left them to meet in, though not a single estate in which he had members had been burnt. This occurrence produced a very strong sensation among them. They enquired whether the chapel would be rebuilt, and they be permitted again to attend the worship of God. Mr. Knibb consoled them with the hope of having the chapel rebuilt by help from England, and of again enjoying their religious privileges. The chapel had been their own work, built at their own expense. Instead of being allowed to preach to them then, he did not even dare to leave the house, being threatened with murder by a party assembled for that purpose, consisting not of blacks but of whites. There was no protection of law ; mob government ruled. The custos, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Gordon, a magistrate, to whom he applied for protection, said that in the then state of feeling it was impossible, and advised his departure. A party of white

men, disguised in women's clothes, came to his house at night, and threw stones while he was in bed: one stone fell on the bed. There were some coloured gentlemen, who had heard of the intended attack, and came for Mr. Knibb's defence, and when the assailants heard them cry out, they ran away. These attempts were renewed for three successive nights, and at last Mr. K. was persuaded by his friends to quit the place and repair to Montego Bay, where he had left his wife and child. He was assured of the designs against him by two white gentlemen, one of whom had been applied to to assist in tarring and feathering him.—He knew of nothing that could have excited such ill will to him among the whites of Falmouth, except that his congregation there was composed of slaves, of whom 1000 generally attended on Sunday mornings, the number of members being 983 and of enquirers about 2500. These came from eighty plantations. The congregation had been originally formed by a preceding missionary who had died; many of them were illiterate, but many very sensible. A great many were learning to read, and about 100 adults could read. He found the desire for knowledge very intense, and he had no doubt they were stimulated to take pains by the power it would give them of gaining information relative to slavery. Since the rebellion he has learnt what he had not known before, that they were eager in obtaining and diffusing information on that subject. He had known that they read newspapers occasionally with that view (p. 249—255).

Mr. Knibb admitted the great hostility shown him by the whites; he denied, however, having ever touched, in addressing his congregation either publicly or privately, on their temporal condition. It was difficult to avoid doing it, but he thought it right and what every good man would do. When called to preach on subjects connected with the freedom of the gospel, he was at pains to make them understand that gospel freedom had respect to the soul and not to the body, and that there were slaves in the times of the apostles as well as now. He thought it imperatively his duty to preach the whole counsel of God; but he took care to make it understood that Christian freedom meant spiritual not temporal freedom, and the conduct of his congregation was a sufficient proof he was not misunderstood. The witnesses he had summoned from 70 different estates would have proved this had he had the pleasure of being tried



at the March assizes, as was intended. General clamour had charged him with preaching seditious doctrines. He called loudly for the proof, but it has never been produced. At a public meeting of planters at Montego bay, the custos Mr. Macdonald in the chair, a resolution was moved and carried, "That it appeared, from a mass of moral evidence, that the Baptists had been instrumental in misleading the slaves, by inculcating doctrines teaching disobedience to their masters. As sectarianism leads to revolution both in church and state, it behoves us to adopt means to prevent any other than duly authorized ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland from imparting religious instruction to the slaves; and in furtherance of this measure we call upon all proprietors of estates, or their attorneys, to put down all sectarian meetings on their respective properties, and that the magistracy should be most strongly urged to withhold for the future their license to sectarian ministers and their places of worship." The meeting was for forming a Colonial Church Union, and the resolutions were printed in all the newspapers, and were of course known to all the slaves. All the religious slaves who attended sectarian meetings would of course mourn over such resolutions. But although the light produced by instruction tended to increase the desire of freedom, yet in the case of truly Christian slaves, they thought it wrong to seek it by violence. They said that if God intended to give them freedom, he would give it without force on their parts. If they took it by force, it would come with a curse and not a blessing; and this sentiment, he believed, was the only security against their using force. In reply to a question whether he had been always guarded in preaching to the slaves, he said he had proffered proof of it in Jamaica, and he should be ready to produce a thousand witnesses of that fact (p. 255—257).

Mr. Knibb then entered into some explanation of the causes which led to the dislike of missionaries. The doctrines inculcated by missionaries were directly condemnatory of the general habits of thinking and acting of the white community of Jamaica, which consisted chiefly of the mere servants of the proprietors who resided in England. Certainly it was his conviction that the generality of the planters entertained the opinion that Christianity would lead necessarily to the abolition of slavery. This was the view given him of the general feeling in the island by Mr. S. M. Barrett, and many others whom he declined to name (p. 258).

In a great variety of ways English newspapers, and the contents of English newspapers, were conveyed to the knowledge of the slaves (p. 259).

At Montego bay from 90 to 100 slaves were punished capitally, either hung or shot; and some were flogged to death, dying of the infliction on the next day. One of Mr. Burchell's members (sentenced to 500 lashes), died of the flogging. The courts martial that sat were composed of militia officers: he did not know if they had Sir Willoughby Cotton's approbation. He could not answer for that fact. He thought, in some cases, they could not have had his sanction, as persons were shot at distant places on the same day. There were about 300 shot, many by drum-head courts. One person told Mr. Knibb he had caused eleven to be shot. Some were tried, and shot or hung, in half an hour, Sir W. Cotton being then absent. He had himself seen men hung at Montego bay when Sir W. Cotton was so far distant that he could not have been referred to. The trials and executions went on the most rapidly in St. James's while the general was in Westmoreland; and he was told that he had delegated to some other the power of signing the sentences of the courts martial. Mr. K. had never known more than one hour elapse between the sentence and the execution. At Montego bay he said that 90 had been hung or shot, but in fact the number was greater. At Falmouth 11 were shot, 6 were hanged, and 36 were flogged. The executions were conducted with considerable levity, four or six being sometimes executed in a day at Montego bay. Mr. Knibb saw Dehaney hung, with two others. He fell from the gallows by the rope breaking. He went up again with the utmost firmness, and, the other two being dead, he swung in the centre, and kicked them. There was on this quite a horse-laugh, which was very disgusting. Blacks as well as whites joined in it. The bodies of those shot and hung at Montego bay were buried in a trench; those put to death in the country were left to be devoured by vultures. The feeling produced by all this is very painful and alarming, as many have lost not only fathers and brothers, but wives also. The severities exercised are much more likely to excite a deep-rooted feeling of revenge, and to accelerate a recurrence to violence, than to produce terror. The firmness with which they met death was remarkable. There was not one who did not. Dehaney's case was one he should never forget. He neither heard

of nor saw one who manifested any symptom of fear: not even a woman who was hanged. These things were currently known in the island, and of course to the slaves generally, for they appeared in all the newspapers (p. 258—262).

A young man, a Methodist leader, belonging to the militia, having been asked to pray with some people condemned to be shot at Falmouth, was then ordered to shoot them, and did shoot them. He did it under military compulsion, and he gave Mr. Knibb to understand that the very men who had told him to pray with the convicts had then ordered him to shoot them. His own words to Mr. Knibb were, "They asked me to pray with them prisoners, and then they made me shoot them." He spoke to me of the matter as a great hardship that had been imposed upon him (p. 263, 264).

Some of the clergymen of the church of England went out and fought in regimentals, among them Mr. Burton. He joined the militia as a trooper (p. 265).

Mr. Knibb was re-examined as to the conversations that had passed between him and the slaves prior to the insurrection. He repeated that several slaves, Baptists, had come to him to ask if it were true, as they had heard, that they were to be free after Christmas. He told them no. They said they had heard the overseers frequently say that they were to be free after Christmas. He told them it was not the case—he had heard nothing of it, and did not believe it, and he hoped they would not harbour such thoughts. They said, at the same time, that they had never been so cruelly treated as during the preceding three or four months. The only reason they assigned for this increased severity was that sometimes, when they were laid on the ground to be flogged, the overseers said that, as they (the slaves) were to be free at Christmas, "they would get it out of them first." On the occasion of this conversation, and with a view to create a disbelief of such statements, and thus to allay their excitement, he used the words, "Did you ever know the overseers tell you any thing to do you good?" The words were used to undeceive them. He had no reason to doubt that the statements made to him by these slaves were correct, and his object was to undeceive them.

Being questioned as to some passages in a printed speech of his, which had appeared in a paper called the Patriot, he affirmed their accuracy. One respected the flogging of an infant slave; and he said

that, in riding through Macclesfield estate, in Westmoreland, he had seen a child of seven or eight years old laid down, and held down by four others, and flogged. This was about two years ago.—Another case he had mentioned, that of Catherine Williams, was as follows:—“Just as the rebellion broke out, one of my members came and said that Catherine Williams had just crawled to her house, and her back a mass of blood. I said, ‘How is this? she always appeared to be a faithful servant.’ My informant said that she had been confined in a dungeon for three months, and had been flogged because the overseer wanted her to live with him in fornication, and she would not. Her back, my informant stated, was very bad indeed. He had mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Blyth, a Scotch missionary, who wished it to be laid before the custos; but my informant feared the trouble it would occasion, and Mr. Blyth therefore declined doing it. I had the utmost confidence in my informant.”—A third case was that of one William Plomer, an emancipated slave, who was one of the witnesses called on behalf of Mr. Gardner, the missionary, who was shut up in a room with a pot of burning brimstone, in order to induce him to accuse Mr. Burchell; the person who placed the pot of brimstone telling him that they would give him a taste of hell, as he would say nothing against Mr. Burchell. This was related to Mr. Knibb by the gentleman who had taken Plomer’s examination, preparatory to the trial of Mr. Gardner, and who had inserted the fact in the brief. He had heard the person’s name who had placed the pot of brimstone and used the above language, but he had forgotten it. The person, however, who took the examination of Plomer could tell (p. 265—267).

Mr. Knibb was further asked whether he had used the following language attributed to him in this speech, viz.—“A colonial Church Union, composed of nearly all the fornicators in the island, has been formed to stop the march of mind and religion, to protect the white rebels from deserved punishment, and to dry up the streams of religious instruction. Infidels, clergymen, slave owners, newspaper editors, high and low, have joined hand and heart.” “Yes,” replied Mr. Knibb, “that is mine” (p. 268).

Mr. Knibb stated that of the Baptist missionaries six had been arrested during the rebellion, and one Wesleyan. Thirteen Baptist chapels and four Wesleyan chapels were destroyed. The effect on the minds of the slaves of the destruction of those chapels was of the



most painful description. He can never forget their tears and their emotion at the sight. Mr. Knibb told them that, if they were obedient, their chapels would be restored, and that he was sure the king would see that they were permitted to pray, but this would depend on their good conduct (p. 270).

Mr. Miller, the custos, told Mr. Knibb that the Governor had requested him to find out the cause of the rebellion, that he himself was perfectly convinced of Mr. Knibb's innocence, and that he had conferred also with the Chief Justice on the subject, and they concurred in thinking that they could not do better than employ him; and the custos added, "Mr. Knibb, I have his Excellency's permission to say that if any slave will divulge that which may lead to a full disclosure of the rebellion, every effort will be made to have his life spared." This occurred between the period of finding a true bill of indictment against him, and the abandonment of the prosecution by the Attorney-General. Mr. Knibb accordingly examined some of the prisoners, some alone, and others in the company of Mr. Murray, a Wesleyan minister. He examined each separately. He examined none that had been tried, except one who was under sentence of death. They agreed in their answers as contained in the papers now produced, a copy or the substance of which he had given to Mr. Miller. These answers were taken down at the time, in the presence of the slaves, on sheets of paper, and afterwards copied into this book. Mr. Murray is now at Montego Bay. Mr. Miller himself attended the examinations of Sharpe and Gardner. The meetings of the inhabitants and what passed there formed one of the principal reasons they alleged for the insurrection. The last of the examinations he took was that of a slave called Hilton, on the 23rd of March.—Meetings of the drivers of different estates were held at a place called Retrieve, where Samuel Sharpe appeared to be the leading man. On Christmas morning Sharpe spoke to Hilton, at the chapel at Montego bay, to be sure, if the minister asked him about freedom, or not working after Christmas, to tell him he knew he was free, and that he would not work again for any body any more unless he was paid for it. The minister, however, did not call upon him. After the morning meeting he went to Richard Bailey's, with some others, and had breakfast. Bailey looked for an old newspaper, and said, "This is not the right one; this is four months old, and tells us that eight years back women

were not to be flogged." Bailey found another paper, which said that the English people would not submit to the brutish practice any longer. Hilton afterwards asked Thomas Williams, a leader, whether it was true what was said about freedom. Williams said, No;—that foolish people had put it into their heads; for he had never heard Mr. Burchell say one word about it, or that he was gone home to bring out their freedom; but that the whole had been made up at Retrieve.

The persons examined all referred to the expectation that was entertained of the island being given up to America.—In one of the examinations is found an account of a conversation among some of the slaves, which took place on Christmas day, to the following effect:—Gardner and Dove, though supposed to have been leaders, both solemnly denied that they had any connexion with the plot till Christmas day. On that day they met Guthrie, Sharpe, Taylor, and other members of the church, who were talking about freedom. Taylor strongly urged Sharpe not to refuse to go to work after Christmas. Gardner strongly advised to go to work after Christmas, saying, "If freedom is come we shall get it quietly, but if we do what is wrong we shall bring disgrace on religion." Sharpe said, "I know we are free. I have read it in the English papers. I have taken an oath not to work after Christmas without pay, and I will not." Sharpe then went away. Gardner after fell into company with Guthrie and some others, at Guthrie's house. Guthrie offered them wine or spirits: they chose wine. Guthrie poured it out, and, taking his glass, said, "Well, friends, I hope the time will soon come when we shall have our privilege, and when we shall drink wine free. I hope we shall soon have Little Breeches under our feet." Gardner asked who was Little Breeches. Guthrie said, "He is my master, Mr. Grignon. I heard him say the king was going to make us free, but he hoped all would be of his mind, and spill their blood first. But," added Guthrie, "I'll be the first to do the job, though I am his slave; I will give him a pill as I follow him." On another occasion some one was doubting of their freedom, when John Morris said he was sure it was true, because when the women at Duckett's having young children went to Mr. Grignon for their Christmas allowance, Mr. Grignon said that they must now look to their friends in England for allowance, for he had no more to give them. Morris argued long on this fact, saying, "If we are not free, what made Mr. Grignon

say so?" This made all the people stout upon it, and they said they would throw down their hoes and say they were free (p. 271—273).

One circumstance, Mr. Knibb said, which induced the slaves to think they were to be made free, was Mr. Beaumont saying in the Assembly, when discussing the bill for compulsory manumission, that they should no longer be called slaves, but labourers (p. 274).

Mr. Knibb said he believed the people told him the truth, for it agreed with what his own people told him afterwards. His church was not in St. James's, where the rebellion broke out, but in the next parish to it, Trelawney; and he earnestly requested them afterwards to tell him all they knew. They said they heard it commonly said they were to be free at Christmas, and that, if he had not contradicted the rumour, they should have continued to believe it. A young free man of colour, who had joined the rebels, and was executed at Montego Bay, told him and so did many others that they did not expect the king's troops would fight against them. This man of colour was executed for a deliberate murder. He shot a faithful slave, who was defending his master's property (p. 274).

The slaves are now in the full expectation that their freedom will come to them from England. He doubted whether they would be content to wait long for it. As the rebellion was breaking out he had himself spoken to about a thousand people, not of his flock, urging and entreating them, even with tears, to remain faithful to their masters, telling them they were misled by wicked men, and that no free paper had come out. But some who were present told him afterwards that the effect of what he said was neutralized by their being told by some of their companions, "Do not believe him; the white men have given him money to say so. The free paper *has* come out." The way in which he came to meet these people was this:—on the last day of the Christmas holidays he had gone to some distance to open a new place of worship. Mr. Blyth came and told him he had heard the people were going to refuse to work, and that the militia had been called out. He went off immediately; and, after riding 32 miles, he found them assembled, and talked to them for three or four hours, assuring them they were all mistaken, and urging them, if they had any love to Christ, to go to their masters, and not suffer themselves to be misled to their ruin. He had heard of their having this impression only the night before from Mr. Blyth. A person named

Stephen James also called to tell him of the rumour, and he said to him, "Go and tell them that, if one of my members refuses to go to work after Christmas, I will exclude him instantly from the church;" and he sent his free people in all directions to the estates to tell them the same. It was three or four months before this that he had been first questioned by the slaves. He then told them not to believe any thing they heard about it: "it is not true: you must not listen to any such reports at all: you ought to be thinking about your souls: you must never speak to me on the subject; I will not hear it." He viewed it at the time as an idle enquiry which he had only to check. He was at this time preaching at a distance from home to a strange congregation. He heard no more of it, and nothing of it whatever from his own congregation. He really thought nothing more of it, till Mr. Blyth informed him of what he heard was about to take place. He was thunderstruck, and went and told Mr. Manderson. But at this time the military force was under arms, and the magistrates quite awake. In fact he found them all better informed than he was, having already had informations on oath. His first intimation was at Falmouth, from Mr. Blyth. He immediately got Lewis Williams, a free man, a deacon of his church, who is still alive, to ride from property to property, to beg them not to be led away. He himself drove in his chaise as far as he could; but did not get down till ten at night, when the country was in complete confusion. The military indeed had been called out that very day. When he got to the place to which he was going he addressed the people in the way he had already stated (p. 275—277).

Mr. Knibb certainly thought the slaves were more disposed to listen to the missionaries of the Baptists and Methodists than to the ministers either of the English or Scotch churches. There were some excellent men among the English clergy, but few slaves comparatively attend upon them. Some of them use their very utmost exertions, but not only are their habits of life and their adaptation of language and manners different, but they had other congregations to attend to, the free and the whites. The same sermon that would suit a white and intelligent man would be lost on the unlettered and simple Negro (p. 278).

In the parish of Trelawney, Mr. Knibb said, there were no catechists. There was a curate, but he did not visit any estate; he was requested



to go on one; he did not go, and Mr. Knibb went. He knew one excellent and devoted curate, Mr. Hannah. He did not mean to say he was the only excellent one. There were undoubtedly others, as Mr. Dallas of Spanish Town, and many did their utmost; but they were occupied with the free, and, if there were no slaves in the island, they would have had enough to do. The Church Missionary Society had catechists; but, if there were a hundred more missionaries in Jamaica to-morrow, they would all have enough to do. In the disturbed districts there were no properties where slaves were attended by curates or catechists of the church of England; while, on all the estates on which the Baptist missionaries were allowed to go and preach, the people continued faithful. There were Baptists engaged in the rebellion; but he meant to affirm that on the estates to which he and the other Baptist missionaries were admitted, the people defended their masters' property to the last. There was not a single member of Mr. Abbott's congregation at Lucea in Hanover who was implicated in the rebellion, or even refused to work for his owner. There was one Baptist preacher wholly unconnected with the missionaries, on the borders of St. James's and Trelawney, at a place called Spring Vale Pen, who was shot as a rebel, many of his congregation being shot too (p. 279).

Christianity, Mr. Knibb thinks, will lead every man to love freedom, but true Christianity will keep him from taking it by violence. It will inspire a love of freedom, but it will lead him to be quiet till it is granted. As the apostle Paul says, "If thou mayest be free, use it rather" (p. 280).

There is in the mind of the Negro a suspicion of what his master does, so that even when Baptist missionaries have gone on an estate at the request of the master, the slaves would not attend them. This makes them jealous of clergymen; and, if they thought the missionaries were paid by their masters, they would not come near them. Clergymen themselves have told Mr. Knibb they found this to be the case. He was himself once requested by Mr. E. B. of Bristol, a very worthy gentleman of the church of England, to visit his estates; but, in consequence of something that was reported to the slaves to have passed between him and the overseers of the estates, they came to him in a body requesting him not to come, for if he did they would not hear him. "Keep," they said, "to your own chapel, and keep away from the overseers, and we will come and hear you."

Mr. Knibb communicated with Mr. B. on this subject privately, and has seen him since his return, having been received by him with great kindness. He had felt the subject a difficult one. One of Mr. K.'s reasons for not visiting his estates was the state of concubinage in which the overseers lived. Almost every overseer and book-keeper in the island is living in fornication, and he did not think it right to associate with such characters. Slanders also were raised against himself. The attorney too took the part of the overseer against him.—He is unwilling to go farther into the matter or to mention the proprietor's name.

In the report of a speech of Mr. Knibb, he had spoke of the innocent blood that had been shed during the insurrection. He said he referred to the number who, during martial law, had suffered innocently. The feeling produced by it, he feared, was very strong : for in this, as in all servile wars, great enormities were apt to take place, and much blood shed which would not be revealed till the day of judgment. Where soldiers go out, as they did, and fire indiscriminately, a great deal of innocent blood will be shed. This feeling he believed to be very prevalent, but was directed, not against their masters residing in England, who they thought were friendly to them, but against the resident whites. The probable existence of a feeling of resentment and revenge was the subject of much conversation among all classes of the free in the island (p. 280, 281, 285).

Mr. Knibb left the island early in April. Mr. Miller and Dr. Gordon had sent for him and said, "Mr. Knibb, it is our decided opinion that your life is not safe. I would do every thing to protect you, but I cannot protect you" (p. 281).

The Baptist leaders, in his congregation, were about fifty. Each had his own ticket entitling him to come to the sacrament. No one could have a ticket which he had not received from the minister, whether he were a deacon, a leader, or a member. Enquirers or probationers also had their tickets; and this explains why so many tickets were found; for many enquirers, after receiving their tickets, withdrew their attendance. Most of the tickets found were of this description. Nothing was paid for these tickets. All members however subscribed something quarterly, as the dissenters consider it the duty of all, bond or free, to do what they can to support the gospel; but these contributions go, not to the support of the missionaries, for

they are supported from home, but to the erection of chapels for themselves, which are vested in trustees, and could not be taken from them (p. 282).

Mr. Knibb did not know, of himself, who had commanded the militia when the new chapel at Salem's Hill was destroyed, but he understood it was Captain Gordon who was over the company. He was himself a prisoner at the time, and did not see it; but the missionaries were in possession of abundance of evidence to take before any court of justice of the persons who destroyed the chapels (p. 283).

He had been informed of slaves having been threatened with death, or severe punishments, for refusing to give evidence against the missionaries. He had also heard of torture being inflicted to extort information as to slaves engaged in the rebellion; but he had no personal knowledge to that effect. A slave, whom he himself had hired as a servant, told him that he was flogged by his master, a man of colour, for refusing to assist to pull down the chapels (p. 283, 284).

Mr. Knibb was of opinion that the Negroes, if emancipated, would labour for wages. He had known Negroes who paid their masters a weekly rent (one of them paying two dollars a week for himself, and a dollar and a half a week for his wife) and maintained themselves and families at the same time. He knew one who purchased himself and his wife: he paid £250 currency for himself, and £80 for his wife. His name is Richard Brown; he lives at Falmouth. Samuel Swiney tried to purchase his wife, but could not effect it, though he bade as high as £250 (p. 284).

He had said at a public meeting in England that he believed the Baptist slaves would be flogged if they were caught praying. He had seen a slave flogged for praying, the very Samuel Swiney he had just mentioned, but who is now free. The evidence is given in full in papers laid before Parliament. Mr. Finlayson, the magistrate, said that praying and preaching were the same in law. He and his brother magistrate who pronounced this judgment were struck off the commission by order of the Government. He never heard any other ground alleged for their sentence. He had not applied to the Governor on the occasion, but sent the facts to the Society at home, that they might act as they thought proper. They laid the matter before the

Colonial Department. He did not regard himself, as a Missionary, entitled to originate any matter by applying to the Governor or the Attorney-General. An order has, he believes, gone out requiring all complaints to be made through the Governor; but he knew nothing of that then. He had published the case in a newspaper in Jamaica, because, having sent it home, he thought it fair to apprise Mr. Finlayson of his having done so. He does not think that, after what has passed, *magistrates* in Jamaica would flog slaves for praying, but he thinks overseers would do it, and with impunity. Mr. Knibb was then asked whether the overseer could by law do this, provided he limited the number of lashes to 39; but to this he gave a vague answer, professing not to know sufficiently the provisions of the new slave law.\* He had never attended to the proceedings in the courts of law, as he made it a point not to interfere with the temporal condition of the slaves. He had heard them say, however, that it was of no use to complain (p. 290).

Mr. Knibb denied his ever having had any communication with the Anti-Slavery Society, or having seen any of their Reporters except by accident (p. 318).

He had no conversation with the Attorney-General on the *nolle prosequi* entered by him to the indictment preferred against him at the Cornwall Assizes. All he had learnt of it was through his attorney, who told him that if the Missionary Gardiner's case broke down the Attorney-General would not enter upon his. He went into court with his witnesses, and the Chief Justice said to him, " You will have

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\* Had Mr. Knibb been acquainted with that law, he might have replied most confidently that no overseer who limited his lashes to 39 was liable to be called in question in any court of justice for any punishment within that limit which he might inflict, whether for any offence, or for no offence. The words of the 33rd section of that Act, of February 19, 1831, authorize every overseer to inflict 39 lashes on any slave; and there is no part of that clause, nor of any other clause in that Act, or in any other Act of the Jamaica statute-book, which authorizes any magistrate to take cognizance of any complaint, made by a slave, of a flogging which does not exceed, and is not affirmed to exceed, 39 lashes; provided only they are not inflicted twice in the same day, or until the person shall have recovered from the effects of any former punishment.



the kindness, Mr. Knibb, to remove your witnesses." Mr. Knibb said, "I am not sure whether I am not to be tried." He said, "You are not; there is a *nolle prosequi* entered." Mr. Knibb bowed and went out (p. 319).

The above is the whole of Mr. Knibb's evidence which it seems at all material to give. We have omitted many of the offensive and discourteous questions which were addressed to him by some member of the Committee, and which, while they tended in no degree to shake the force of his testimony, manifested a most galling sense of its importance, and of the irritation it had produced in the mind of his examiner.

We have now gone through the whole of the evidence which was adduced to establish Mr. Buxton's propositions, "*That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property; and that the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld from than from freedom granted to the slaves;*" and we think it will be allowed, by every candid and unprejudiced reader, that he has most triumphantly established them. But we must not forget that we have still to hear the upholders and apologists of slavery in vindication of their system, and in refutation of the strong statements that have already been brought under the view of our readers. To that part of our task we therefore now proceed.

# I.—CAPTAIN CHARLES HAMPDEN WILLIAMS, R. N.

CAPTAIN CHARLES HAMPDEN WILLIAMS, of the Royal Navy, commanded the first ship of war which arrived at Montego Bay two days after the late insurrection had broken out. He has been promoted for his services there, and his conduct has been applauded both by the Admiral on the station and by the civil authorities. He had been sixteen months in all in the West Indies, and in that time had visited almost all the West India islands (p. 291). And yet Captain Williams states in a subsequent part of his examination (p. 297) that he had gone for the *first* time to the West Indies "in January last," which was January, 1832, only six months prior to the day of his

examination. We presume, therefore, he must have meant, by January last, January 1831.

The cause of the insurrection was that the slaves understood the king had given them their liberty, but that the planters had withheld it from them, and he adds, "*I believe* they were stirred up to the rebellion by the Baptists." The gallant Captain's reasons for this belief are somewhat vague. He attended several courts martial of slaves at Lucea, and he was led to suppose from what passed that the Baptists had preached up the slave's right to liberty. It could not be brought home to any body, but this was his inference. He had spoken to several members of the court martial, and they were all convinced the Baptists had stirred up the rebellion, though they could not bring it home! "I saw several men shot, hanged, and flogged." "Every man had a fair trial before the courts, which were composed of *militia* officers, and I believe every man to have merited his punishment." "They had a very fair *chance*. I went up to one prisoner myself, and offered to assist him in his defence."\* He does not think any persons were killed without trial, except they were in rebellion. He had met with no slaves in open rebellion. He went seven miles with his sailors "to try to get near them;" but they could not come within gunshot of them. In his opinion "*all* the punishments that took place were cases required for example." The rebellion, in the opinion of this officer, was "very formidable indeed;" and the reason he gives for thinking so, for he admits he saw nothing of it himself, is this, that when he arrived at Montego Bay he found them "in a great panic." "The militia themselves were frightened, and he had to call their very "colonel† to order," and to tell him that he could not act with him unless "he adopted discipline and order." It, therefore, became quite necessary to "strike terror into the Negroes," and therefore 100 persons were executed by shooting and hanging, and 100 flogged. "I believe," says the Captain, "that was the exact

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\* The gallant Captain does not say the offer was accepted. We rather infer from his silence that the poor prisoner was too undiscerning to appreciate its value.

† This, we suppose, was the redoubted Colonel Lawson of whom we have heard so much.

number.”\* Besides these, he thinks, “400 more were shot in resistance in open warfare.”†

Captain Williams further testifies “that he went out to the West Indies with strong opinions upon Negro slavery;” he believed they were “an ill-used people,” and he gives as his reason for having thus condemned the West Indians before-hand, “BECAUSE I had lived in a family that even would not eat West Indian sugar, because it was raised by slaves.” But “what,” he is then asked, “is your opinion on that subject now?” To this he promptly replies, “I believe they are much better off than *any* labouring classes in this country!” But, he is asked, “are you not aware that they are flogged at the will of their masters?” The reply of Captain Williams to this question is highly instructive:—“Their masters,” he says, “can inflict thirty-nine lashes; but they must first of all have two or three justices of the peace, or magistrates, before they can give the punishment; and I could give my men forty-eight lashes *whenever I please*, and more severe.”‡ Before he went out Captain Williams was in favour of

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\* It was but a just retaliation that the same militia officers whom the Negroes had so terrified should be made the instruments of striking a salutary terror into them in return, by shooting, and hanging, and mangling with the cart-whip 200 unarmed wretches, who had dared so to frighten them. But was it quite fair towards the persons thus summarily tried, and convicted, and shot, and hung, and lacerated, to constitute as their judges, without appeal, the very men who had been terrified and disgraced by them? Does Captain Williams think that was giving the prisoners a “fair chance?”

† Captain Williams has nowhere told us how many lives this “formidable resistance,” this “open warfare,” caused the gallant troops opposed to them,” and for whose loss so severe a vengeance was exacted by the alarmed members of these courts martial.

‡ It is quite impossible to resist the temptation of a brief comment or two on this evidence of this leading witness of the West Indians, this advanced guard of their array. Mr. Burge, himself, must have blushed for him. He goes out to the West Indies animated with Anti-Slavery views. He sails from island to island for a few months, attending the Bishop of Barbadoes in his pastoral visits. He repairs to Jamaica, and spends a month there, and reports in that short space 100 shootings and hangings, and 100 floggings worse than either shooting or hanging. He sleeps ashore, in Jamaica, for two or three nights, having before had the happiness of sleeping under the roof of the renowned Mr. Huggins, of Nevis,

emancipation. He is not so now. Emancipation would produce anarchy; there would be no more returns either of produce or revenue; for the slaves, being a lazy set of persons, if emancipated, would only raise plantains and yams for their own use. Being asked his ground for this inference, his answer is, "BECAUSE they are naturally lazy!" He had seen several free blacks, "and they are very lazy." He admits they have property of their own, but he is not aware how they got it; in short, "they are very lazy" (p. 291, 294).

The only ground Captain Williams has for representing the Baptist Missionaries as the instigators of the insurrection is his conversation with the officers composing the court martial, and general rumour (p. 294). He had heard that fourteen white women had been violated, and that seven persons had been burnt (*ibid.*). Being asked whether he had any communication with the slaves on the causes of the rebellion, he replied, "yes, I rode round one day to two or three estates, and I desired them to remain quiet; I told them that I would shoot them or flog them if they did not behave well; but they all seemed well disposed. I merely admonished them, and told them I was the captain of the ship in the harbour." He heard of the destruction of the Baptist chapels; he believed it was effected at noon day, and by whites, not by blacks. They were destroyed as a retaliation for the

for other three nights; and he comes before a Committee of the House of Commons to dissuade them from abolishing slavery, since he, Captain Williams, is able to assure them, after this ample experience, that the slaves are "*much* better off than *any* labouring classes in this country." His illustrations of this extraordinary statement are certainly somewhat unfortunate. He can give his men, his British sailors, 48 lashes *whenever he pleases*, and these more severe than the Jamaica cart-whip inflicts. Is it indeed so? If it be, then indeed might the British seaman complain of his condition; but it is a slander on the British navy to say so. He takes it upon himself also to tell the Committee that the slave master must have the authority of two or three magistrates, before he can inflict thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip on the bared buttocks of any slave, man or woman. This, we need not say, is as gross a mis-statement of the facts of the case as could have been uttered. It is directly the reverse of the truth, and that on the very point which lies at the root of the whole question of slavery. To have produced such a witness, at such a crisis, looks something very like the infatuation we have on former occasions imputed to the colonists.



missionaries having preached up rebellion; but he was not aware of any foundation on which that charge rested (p. 295).

Captain Williams further states that he had not heard it assigned as a cause of the rebellion that the Negroes were afraid of being given up to America. And yet he immediately adds, “ I visited a great many islands, and *in all the islands* the whites are forming a confederacy now to cast off the mother country. It is general throughout the West Indies. The planters are dissatisfied with the late Order in Council, and they wish to throw off the mother country\* (p. 296).

“ The insurrection was quelled,” said Captain Williams, “ when I left Montego Bay” (he had been there only ten days); “ but there were several executions going on at that time. When I went back to Montego Bay from Lucea” (where he had been about eighteen days), “ I saw two persons hanging, and one or two flogging at the foot of the same gibbet !”

Captain Williams admitted that all he knew of the treatment of the slaves in Jamaica or the other islands “ was *only* by conversation with *white* persons” (p. 297). He also admitted that all he knew against the Baptist missionaries was from the same source. “ They could not prove it; they could not get it in evidence;” and yet he admitted “ that the militia officers were particularly desirous of bringing guilt home to the Baptists;” and that “ they were inveterate against them” (p. 298). He saw no professional or other persons assisting the Negroes on their trials. The courts martial began by shooting the insurgents, and afterwards by shooting and hanging them alternately. Then they hanged all, thinking death by shooting too honourable. The men did not mind being shot. He saw three men condemned to death: they did not alter their voice or countenance: they appeared prepared for it; but he heard them express sorrow and say they were legally condemned. The hundred who were flogged received from 150 to 500 lashes. The lives lost by the king’s troops, including the militia, were, he had heard, ten (p. 292).

Captain Williams repeated his conviction that West Indian slavery was a happier state than that of the English peasantry. He did not

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\* Was it possible then that the slaves should not have heard of this design, and been influenced by it?

think it bore a comparison, so much better off was the condition of the slaves. "They are a happy people, and they have a great many enjoyments." But, supposing that the Englishman might be sold and separated from his family, and be liable to be flogged, and to have his wife and daughter seduced without redress, like the slave, he was asked if that would better his condition. He said the Englishman was a free man, and the slave had not his feelings. He admitted, however, that the Englishman would feel aggrieved by such liabilities; but still the slaves were born in that state and were used to it. The slaves are now a happy people, and he thought they would lose by freedom; and many of them would not accept it if offered them. At the same time he did not think it a happy state for a man to work for another and receive nothing for his labour but clothing, a hut, a garden, a surgeon, and some salt fish (p. 299—301).

Being asked whether the flogging of slaves was viewed with any horror in Jamaica, he said it was not: he had never seen any *feeling* exhibited about it (p. 301).

He had affirmed the slaves to be naturally lazy; but he admits that the West India markets are supplied, by the voluntary labour of the slaves, with poultry, pigs, provisions, and vegetables, which they brought from a considerable distance to the Sunday market, and for which they knew very well how to drive a bargain; but all this industry, he added, was for themselves. And, being asked whether he knew who would work without wages if not compelled, he said he did not know any (p. 302).

Again, some of the free blacks in Jamaica have property, which he supposed they must have got by their exertions; but he persisted in thinking they were "a careless people," not raising more than sufficient for the present, "BECAUSE they are naturally a lazy people" (p. 302).

Captain Williams does not think the slaves in Jamaica will ever rebel again. They are convinced by late events that they cannot succeed. The British army and navy are able to quell any insurrection; but as for the militia, "all the militia together are not able to cope with the slaves" (p. 303).

Being asked whether he had not imbibed his impressions of emancipation and the state of the slaves from his conversations with the white people, Captain Williams said, "Yes, in all the islands." But he corrects himself by adding "from observations of my own also;"

and, when asked to specify what kind of observations, he gave, as the example, his having lived three days upon an estate in Nevis, Mr. Huggins's estate, the speaker at Nevis, where he educates eighty children, and has them taught sewing, reading, and writing, the same as in England.\*

Captain Williams believed that flogging was very rare now ; and the reason he gives for this belief is that so many persons in England have interested themselves in favour of the slaves. The flogging of women, he believed, however, was still continued ; but he did not think that would disgust the men, they were so degraded. Even in this state of degradation, he thought the slaves more happy and comfortable than the English peasant ; and he was so far from regarding this state of degradation as incompatible with happiness, that he should say that "it was better to remain in that state than to have it altered" (p. 304).

In the island of Jamaica he believed it was customary for the overseers to live with black and brown women : they had their favourites. He believed this to be the case generally, nor had he ever known a master to interfere with it. It is common when English gentlemen visit an estate to have black girls offered them. A servant offers the girls in the master's name, but there is no constraint : it is a custom ; and the master he believes is aware of it. This is the custom "*not only in Jamaica but in all the islands.*" *And the master is aware of it* "*not only in Jamaica, but in the whole of the West Indies*" (page 305, 306).

At the close of Captain Williams's examination a kind friend stepped in to extricate him from some of his inconsistencies, and drew from him that the labour by which the slaves raise superfluities is so very easy that it cannot be compared to free labour, and furnishes no

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\* It is no small satisfaction to learn, on such authority as that of Captain Williams, the happy revolution which has taken place in Mr. Huggins's treatment of his slaves, since Lord Liverpool thought it right publicly to characterise his treatment of them as cruel, atrocious, and even murderous.—See House of Commons' Papers for 1814, No. 205, containing the proof of Mr. Huggins having, in the public market-place of Nevis, subjected 21 of his slaves, men and women, to upwards of 3000 lashes of the cart whip, one woman receiving 291, and one man 365.

presumption that they will work on estates even if remunerated ; and that, with regard to flogging females, separating husbands and wives and children, and some other existing evils, they may be got rid of or modified without putting an end to slavery itself.

Such is the evidence of this witness, thrust forward in the van of the apologists and vindicators of slavery. May all who attempt to varnish crime, and to reconcile the people of England to blood and oppression, be equally successful in their advocacy !

## II.—WILLIAM ALERS HANKEY, Esq.

WILLIAM ALERS HANKEY, Esq., is the proprietor of a sugar estate in Trelawney, with 300 slaves upon it, yielding about 250 hogsheads, of 14 to 16 cwt. each. He never visited the West Indies. He knows Mr. Knibb, and has corresponded with him about his estate, for two or three years, on the subject of instructing his slaves, being decidedly favourable to their instruction. He felt it to be his duty to do so, a matter of absolute obligation upon himself, and essential to the best interests of the slaves. He should think so if he had merely a regard to his interests as a proprietor, but also from the situation he had held for 16 years as Treasurer of the London Missionary Society, which embraces and employs all denominations of orthodox Christians, including churchmen. The Baptists and Methodists have Societies of their own. His experience led him to believe that religious instruction even increased the value of the slave in the market, and that in no case had an insurrectionary spirit been encouraged, but checked and resisted, by missionaries. The Society does not force reading on proprietors who are averse to it, but they recommend and pursue it wherever they can. He admitted that the slaves when taught to read would read stimulating publications, and that, with the means of doing so, slavery could not long continue ; and yet he was not prepared to anticipate any general measure of emancipation at this moment. He was prepared to follow the course Government meant to pursue. He should feel it rash himself to precipitate the measure. He wished the Government to settle the whole question, and it would be his duty and happiness to forward the views of the Government. His disposition to favour emancipation rested on general views of humanity, and not on any idea of pecuniary advantage from the measure, though he admitted that West India affairs could not well be in a worse state than



at present. Even if his own interests were to be entirely merged in the measure, he trusted that his sense of moral and religious obligation would lead him to say the sacrifice must be made, still hoping it might not prove a sacrifice in the end. At the same time, Mr. Knibb must have misunderstood him, if he supposed him to connect the immediate emancipation of the slaves with Mr. Knibb's undertaking to instruct them. He had undoubtedly expressed himself anxious to see emancipation effected, being ready to express his abhorrence of the system in very strong terms, and he should at all times be ready to concur in any proper plan of effecting emancipation. He had also expressed and certainly felt horror at the treatment the missionaries had received in Jamaica. He had also spoken to Mr. Knibb of his desire to have his own slaves emancipated as soon as they were fully prepared, and he should be well contented, if it were prudent for Mr. Knibb, on other grounds, to return to Jamaica, that he should resume his labours among his slaves, feeling unshaken confidence in Mr. Knibb's integrity and determination to discharge aright his spiritual duties ; and, in case of emancipation, he should consider the presence of such a person as highly desirable, if not necessary. He conceived, however, that measures of preparation ought to precede emancipation. Mr. Hankey inherited the estate he now has as a partner in his banking house. He is also a mortgagee of New Hope and Albany estates, and has been through life much connected with West Indian property. The measures Mr. Hankey himself had taken, in the way of preparation, were very slight and incipient. He had instructed the attorney, at his discretion, to stop some of the supplies usually granted to the Negroes, and to give them a compensation in money, that they might have an opportunity of being cognizant of their own wants, and thus take one little step towards the management of themselves under other circumstances ; but the step had not yet been taken, the time being not yet come. He carries his notions so far that he conceives there is great moral guilt in slavery, and that, that guilt being national, the nation must be content to bear its share in the atonement it may involve. But he does not think the slaves yet prepared to make a proper use of freedom, and, therefore, to give them freedom immediately would be inexpedient. He has blamed the spirit of the colonists, and he has blamed the spirit shown by the advocates of freedom in this

country. He has never associated himself with either party. He is a friend to the *objects* of the Anti-Slavery Society, but not to the means it employs. He is a decided enemy to slavery in the abstract. But he thinks it a national crime rather than an individual one, and the nation should compensate the planter. He admits, however, that the Negro cannot, in *absolute* justice, be detained in slavery till this question is settled between the Government and the planter, and that the Negro, at least, owes nothing to the planter (p. 307—313).

Mr. Hankey admitted the incompatibility of Christianity with slavery as it now exists. Christianity cannot be so preached to the slave as to suppress the feelings of nature in respect to his own condition. The Negro cannot read the Bible without discovering that his state is incompatible with what the Bible enjoins; and yet he believes that Christianity furnishes the best guard against the evils apprehended from freedom, in the patience which it inspires, and the obedience to authority it requires. A period he conceives must come beyond which the proprietor cannot hold that unjust possession which he now has of his fellow man as a slave. He blames, however, the blazoning the wrongs of the Negro, as calculated to produce excitement in him without corresponding advantage. He thinks that indolence is a natural propensity of man, and that it is aggravated in the case of the Negro by his peculiar circumstances. Were he himself forced to work without remuneration he should do as little as he could. The hostility of the colonists was not caused, as he thought, by a Missionary being of this or that sect: it was directed against the pure and simple preaching of Christianity itself, whether preached by an Episcopalian or a Baptist. In his own case he had preferred the Baptists, because generally they were placed conveniently near his estate. The fundamental principles of all orthodox sects are the same. He had been only three years in possession of this estate, and he immediately began a correspondence on the subject. While Mr. Hankey thought the nation was bound to remunerate the planter for any loss he might sustain by emancipation, he fully admitted that the planter had no claim whatever on the Negro. The case was different with the nation. The nation had sanctioned and encouraged slavery, and the criminality of it was never thought of by his ancestor who advanced money on slave property. The feeling of its moral turpitude was a feeling of

modern growth, although that moral turpitude was always the same\* (p. 314—317).

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\* High as is our respect for the character of Mr. Hankey, and much as we admire the openness and manly frankness with which he has expressed his opinions on this subject, we must confess that we have read some parts of his examination with feelings of deep regret and extreme astonishment. We think it due to him and to the public, as well as to ourselves, to state explicitly the grounds which have produced in our minds these feelings of surprise and regret.

1. Mr. Hankey admits as fully as any one can do “the moral guilt,” “the moral turpitude,” of slavery. He believes it to be “incompatible with Christianity,” and to be “opposed to the injunctions of scripture.” Still he seems to think it not an “individual” but “a national sin.” We had always thought hitherto that “national sins” were neither more nor less than the aggregate of the sins of the individuals composing a nation, and especially of those who, having a conscience of any particular sin, did not at least wash their own hands of it, and heartily concur in employing their influence, by all lawful means, to point out its criminality to others, and to induce them to aid in putting an end to it. We feel utterly at a loss to understand the process of reasoning by which Mr. Hankey, on his own principles, has arrived at his conclusions on this subject. With Mr. Hankey, we admit that the crime is national, and that the suffering for it ought to be national also; but surely it is not enough that we should suffer nationally, and nationally confess our sin, and endeavour to repair it; but that every individual for himself should renounce his share of the “accursed thing,”—should relinquish at least the “Babylonish garment,” and “the wedge of gold,” before he can stand clear in the sight of God or of his own conscience.

2. Mr. Hankey, however, feels some difficulty in pursuing this course, lest he should heap further wrongs on the slaves themselves. They are not “fit,” they are not “prepared,” to receive the measure of justice to which he avows that they are fully entitled. *He* at least must wait the *fiat* of the Government before he “lets the people go.” Be it so. Then has not Government intimated, in terms that cannot be mistaken, that there are certain measures which ought to be taken by all proprietors, and which they have themselves enforced, as far as they have had it in their power, on all proprietors who are subject to their legislation? Those measures it is in the power of every proprietor to adopt as the rule of his own conduct, whether his slaves are placed in a crown or in a chartered colony. Can Mr. Hankey show that he has gone this length? The wishes of the Government were very clearly and repeatedly announced and urged upon the attention of the colonists; and it is obvious that there was not one of them which any proprietor who chose to do so might not have adopted into his own plan of plantation economy. Did he wish to rescue his slave from all necessity of Sunday labour?

## III.—JAMES DE PEYSTER OGDEN, Esq.

JAMES DE PEYSTER OGDEN, Esq., a native of New York. This gentleman proves that emancipation was attended with no danger

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He might have done as Mr. Wildman did on his Jamaica estates : he might have given his slave, instead of the twenty-six week-days allowed by law, fifty-two week-days in the year, or, what would have been still better, seventy-eight days. He might also, with Mr. Wildman, have abolished the exhausting night labour of crop. He might have entirely interdicted, with that gentleman, the flogging of females. He might, moreover, have put down the driving whip in the field, as the immediate stimulus to labour. He might have introduced regulations as to marriage. He might have established for his own slaves the principle of compulsory manumission, and aided its operation in a variety of ways. And he might, moreover, have had a regular record of punishments, properly vouched, and transmitted to him from time to time. He might have done all this without going one step beyond the declared wishes of Government, and without infringing any one of the severe and oppressive enactments which load the statute-book of the colonial legislatures. Now which one of all these practicable and approved methods of lightening the oppressive yoke of slavery, and “preparing” the slave for freedom, has Mr. Hankey adopted? Has he adopted one? We fear not; and we fear it because, having been urged to state what preparatory steps he had adopted, he specified only one, and that one which was altogether superfluous and uncalled for. He instructed his attorney, at the beginning of the year 1832, to negotiate with his slaves a substitution of a money payment in lieu of the clothing and other articles of supply annually sent for their use from this country; and he did that in the hope that he might make them in some measure acquainted with the use and value of money. Nothing could have so well illustrated the utter ignorance of Mr. Hankey respecting the state and capacity of his slaves as this most futile and unnecessary project. He will probably have read the preceding part of this analysis before he peruses our present remarks; and he will then have learnt that the Negroes are as fully acquainted with the nature and use of money, and as capable of making a bargain for its acquisition and application, as any banker in Lombard or Fenchurch Street; and that this species of instruction is no more needed by his slaves than it would be to teach him the multiplication table.

3. But this is not half of what he might have done on his own principles. He wholly condemns the opposition of his fellow planters to the diffusion among their slaves of a knowledge of letters. He might, after Mr. Wildman's example, have had at least an elementary school on his estate. He might have found a man and his wife fully competent to the task, at no very heavy annual cost, compared



or inconvenience in the State of New York, the slaves being few, and the free overwhelming in point of number, namely 170 to one, and the process being also gradual. Mr. Ogden has correctly stated

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at least with the importance of the object on his own showing, to have taught the young at least, if not also the old, to read the word of God. Above all he might have provided religious instruction, though to this hour nothing effective, we fear, has been done for that paramount object. He has stood at the head of a large religious society, which under his administration, and guided by his zeal, and vigilance, and talents, has been diffusing a knowledge of the saving truths of the gospel to the very ends of the earth. The islands of the South Seas, the myriads of China, the millions of Hindostan, the miserable hordes of Caffraria, and even the slaves of Guiana, have either heard, through this Society's labours of love, the glad tidings of salvation, or been enabled to read, in the Holy Scriptures, and in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God. Until recently, in the midst of all these mighty exertions of benevolence, his own slaves, his own household, seem to have been wholly overlooked. Was it impossible, with all the interest possessed by him and his family in the well being of so many of their fellow creatures, to do something at least to dissipate the heathen gloom which overshadowed them, and to shed some ray of light on their benighted souls? Could not even one solitary catechist be found, one man among the hundreds who have gone forth, under his auspices, throughout the length and breadth of the earth, as the heralds of mercy, who would have undertaken to convey some glimmering of light, some of that moral preparation which Mr. Hankey deems so indispensable, before he shall pay to his slaves the debt of justice which he owes them, by striking off their fetters and admitting them to the rights which God and nature have bestowed on them, but which he withholds on the very ground of their unpreparedness? Mr. Wildman succeeded, for he was in earnest, in procuring the means of religious instruction for his slaves. Was success of the same kind wholly unattainable in the case of Mr. Hankey?

4. But one word more and we have done. Mr. Hankey abjures all association with the Anti-Slavery Society. He does justice indeed to their object, and we thank him. But then their means of accomplishing that laudable object he cannot applaud or concur in. As far as we can guess his meaning, it would seem as if he alluded to their delineation of slavery and their occasional exhibition of its practical effects. "I would not," he says, "give a strong statement to the Negro of his wrongs," even though "those wrongs were grievous and severe. I would practically mitigate them; I would not expose them." Now this language seems to proceed on false assumptions in respect of the Anti-Slavery Society. They have never published a single line, and Mr. Hankey *must* have known that fact, in order to state *to the Negro* his wrongs, but in order to bring

that fact. But he has further stated, though without any data, that the moral habits of the emancipated persons have not improved, and that a great proportion of the petty larcenies are committed by them. The success of the experiment however in New York would be no criterion for judging of the effects of emancipation in the Southern

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them to the view of those who could "practically mitigate them." The object of the Society, Mr. Hankey *must* be well aware, was not to address the Negroes, but the public and the parliament of Great Britain. And how were the public and the parliament to be stirred to a due consideration of the subject, or led practically to mitigate the evils of slavery, but by delineating its real nature, and exhibiting its real enormities? It was their best and wisest, nay their only course, and, but for that, the public and parliament might still have slumbered on in listless apathy. They had also another purpose to serve, that of rousing the slumbering consciences of those good men who acknowledged the authority of the Word of God, and who were unfortunately, like Mr. Hankey, owners of slaves, that they might not lay the flattering unction to their souls that they were not guiltless in this thing—that God would not one day require their brothers' blood at their hands, and therefore that they might sleep on and take their rest, leaving it to the nation to *atone* for their guilt, and settle the account for them, not only as a matter of profit and loss in this world, but of awful responsibility in the next. The Anti-Slavery Society might indeed have whispered into the ears of their friends the truths which they have thought it their duty to proclaim as from the house-top; but it may be doubted whether they would have moved a single individual, even Mr. Hankey himself, to take one step towards doing justice to their slaves by freeing them from their bonds. Mr. Hankey will not say that we have not truly described slavery and its effects, nor will he say that our descriptions have had no influence in producing those feelings on the subject, in his own mind, which have drawn from him so many candid admissions of the guilt and criminality, the injustice and moral turpitude, which belong to this most iniquitous system.

We should have been glad to have avoided the necessity of these comments, but we did not dare to decline them; and Mr. Hankey, having come forward at this critical period of our great question, and being in fact the representative of a very large class of West Indian proprietors, who call themselves, and we trust really are, sincere and orthodox Christians, but who, from that very circumstance, are able to accredit in the world both principles and practices which are far more nearly linked with evil than good, and have had the effect of producing, we are sorry to say, especially among many worthy and pious clergymen, and dignitaries of the Church of England, a lukewarmness on this question which has not tended to raise them in public estimation.

States, where the slave population amounts to two millions, being nearly a sixth of the whole population of the United States, estimating that at thirteen millions. The slave States are Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Florida and Arkansa territory. Sugar is grown in Louisiana and the Floridas, rice in these two States and in Georgia and the Carolinas, and cotton in all except Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. The treatment of the slaves, he thinks, is generally good, and their food abundant. They increase rapidly. They are not allowed land of their own : the master feeds them. The emancipation of the slaves has not been agitated as a practical question in America. As for the Colonization Society, and its plan of transferring the blacks to Liberia, it can do nothing towards that object. The difficulty felt in America is what shall be done with the Negroes when they are freed. It is evident that rice and sugar can be cultivated only by blacks. Besides, slavery is guaranteed by the constitution ; and to indemnify the owners would cost at least four hundred millions of dollars, so that no plan of emancipation has been proposed. All that has been done is to limit the system of slavery to the States in which it now exists. The question of slavery has been discussed occasionally in the Northern States ; but the publications on the subject are not allowed to circulate in the Southern. Nothing has been done with a view to prepare the slaves for emancipation, by education or otherwise. The slave states dread the effects of education, and effectual precautions have been taken by them to prevent the diffusion of lettered knowledge. The Americans admit that personal freedom is more valuable than property ; but they apply that principle only to whites. He does not know that any thing has been done to encourage or to discourage religious instruction among the slaves. He cannot see any benefit the slaves, continuing slaves, could derive from education. He had seen many emancipated slaves who were very good characters, but he thought petty offences were frequent among that class.\*

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\* The difficulty, after all, which the Americans deem so insuperable, that of disposing of the slaves when free, seems to us no difficulty at all. The slaves are now employed in agriculture ; nay, sugar and rice, it is said, cannot be cultivated but by blacks. We can see no good reason why the same persons may

## IV.—ROBERT SCOTT, Esq.

ROBERT SCOTT, Esq. This gentleman is a Jamaica proprietor, and had resided in that island from 1802 to 1826, and again for a few months in 1828 and 1829. He had under his management at one time 4000 slaves,\* and had visited different parts of the island ;

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not cultivate these articles in a state of freedom as in a state of slavery. White men work in America : so do black men when free, and wages are given them for their labour. We are utterly at a loss to discover what there is in this particular problem which can puzzle Mr. Ogden, or raise a single difficulty in the mind of American statesmen, provided only they are willing to act on the principles of eternal justice. But see to what length of wickedness the free, enlightened, and Christian whites of America are driven, to maintain their cruel and usurped dominion over their black brethren. No nation values education and instruction more highly than the United States. Every state has made a point of establishing and supporting seminaries of learning adequate to the wants of its citizens, and common schools are provided “for the education of the poor gratis;” yet the benefits of education are withheld from the slaves, and even from the free Negroes also. South Carolina, as early as 1740, passed a law to punish with a fine of £100 any man who should teach a slave to write. Georgia followed the example. Virginia has enacted “that any meetings of slaves, or free Negroes, or mulattoes, at any school, or teaching them reading or writing, shall be deemed an unlawful assembly, and the magistrate may disperse it and inflict on the offender at his discretion twenty stripes.” South Carolina in a later act has declared any meeting unlawful which consists of slaves and free Negroes, and mulattoes, though there be whites among them, assembling for the purpose of *mental instruction*; and the officers who are required to disperse the meeting may inflict twenty lashes on each slave, free Negro, &c., so as to deter them from the like unlawful assemblage in future. In Savannah any person teaching any person of colour, slave or free, to read or write incurs a fine of thirty dollars for each offence; and every person of colour keeping a school to teach reading or writing to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned ten days and flogged with thirty-nine stripes. Nor are they to meet for *religious worship*, but between sunrise and sunset. The only exception to the general bearing of these acts is in Louisiana, where it is enacted that it shall be the duty of the owner to procure for his sick slaves all kinds of temporal and spiritual assistance which their situation may require—a sort of death-bed charity.—

*Stroud's Laws of Slavery. Philadelphia, 1827, p. 85—92.*

\* We cannot find that he is now proprietor of more estates than one, namely, Kinloss, which in 1831 had upon it 249 slaves, and in 1823, eight years before, 296, showing a decrease in that time of 47, or nearly 2 per cent. per annum.



but his concerns lay chiefly in the parishes of Hanover, St. James, Trelawney, and St. Ann. He had consequently great opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Negro character. On most plantations they have as much land as they can cultivate for themselves.—The time allowed them by law, twenty-six days, is not only amply sufficient to supply all their wants, but to enable them to sell great quantities of provisions. The usage, he says, was to give them more time, namely, every Saturday out of crop.\* Few of the slaves work at all on Sunday. The market is on Sunday morning.† In Trelawney the distance from the market at Falmouth is generally ten miles; but the people from the town meet the people of the country half way.‡ He gives 100 barrels of herrings in the year to 250 Negroes § (p. 330, 331).

Mr. Scott denies that, on estates of a size to afford only two spells during crop-time (that is, all estates of the size of his own, having 200 to 250 Negroes), the Negroes work eighteen hours a day. || He admits, however, that it does amount to sixteen. He states, as one of

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\* If that were true, it would raise the number of days, estimating the time of crop at five months, to 30.

† In point of fact the first law which limited the market to Sunday morning, and that at eleven o'clock, was that of 1831, which is only recently in operation.

‡ This is a strange assertion. No market can be held at any place, by a law still in force (Act of 5th William and Mary, c. 6), but by appointment of justices in sessions. Let it be shown that any such intermediate markets are appointed, and what and where they are.

§ That is, less than six herrings a week for each.

|| He takes some pains to mystify a plain matter; for, by what possible arithmetic can it be made out that, where there are only two spells, and where the work of the mill and boiling-house is continuous night and day, and where the cane-cutting for supplying the mill goes on for twelve hours of the day, each spell, that is, each half of the gang, should not work half the night also, or six hours more, making eighteen in all?—See above, p. 33. Mr. Scott admits the work at the mill and boiling-house to be continuous, and yet he cuts off the two hours from six to eight in the evening, of which he makes no account in his estimate of the slave's sleepless hours; but there must be slaves at work during these hours as well as during all the other hours of the week. In fact the loss of rest amounts to nineteen hours *every* day instead of eighteen, at which we have placed it.

the inconveniences that would arise from the Negroes being free, that they might ruin the master by striking work in crop-time; but he admitted that that was an inconvenience to which the English manufacturer was equally liable, if the labourers, thinking themselves not adequately remunerated, struck for wages (p. 332—335). He admitted that cane-hole digging was hard work, and that, if the people did not do their work, the driver must coerce them. He carried a whip; but he believed he did not now use it, though formerly he did, but rarely, except by the direction of the overseer. He now uses switches for coercion; but seldom even these, if the people are under proper control (p. 336).\*

The slaves in Jamaica, Mr. Scott thinks, are much better off than the people of this country have any idea of, nor so ill off as is supposed. Many of them, even of the field Negroes, by selling provisions pigs, and poultry, have a good deal of money. They all have pigs and poultry, and some have cattle. The possession of property unquestionably increases the diligence and industry of the slave. He did not know many slaves who had been emancipated, but he never knew any who hired themselves on an estate, except coopers and carpenters. They regard plantation work as degrading. Large sums, however, he said were annually raised in Trelawney for the relief of people of colour who were paupers. He was quite sure the largest proportion was raised for people of colour, and very little for whites. A return, however, from this very parish of Trelawney, of the distribution of the poor's rate for the five years from 1821 to 1825 inclusive was produced, from which it appeared that the whole sum raised in those five years was £6896; and that of that sum the expense of the poor-house, which is for the accommodation of poor whites, according to Mr. Scott's own testimony (quest. 5064), exhausted £1766; and that, of the remaining £5130, about two-thirds, or about £3420, was paid in pensions to whites, and only about £1690 to free black and coloured paupers—almost all females of the coloured class (probably the cast-

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\* That is, have been duly coerced into industry (see above, p. 14). But, if the driver has no power to flog but by the overseer's order, what means the clause in the very last slave Act (Act of 1831, § 33), which limits the driver to ten lashes in the absence of the overseer?

off mistresses, with their families, of whites who had died or quitted the country). This account is signed by James Shedden, the vestry clerk. (Papers of 1823, No. 353). Mr. Scott, however, seemed still to doubt the correctness of this return (p. 337 and 341).

Mr. Scott admitted that he had seen punishments inflicted to coerce labour, of which he disapproved, but not frequently. Without the knowledge that there was a power to coerce them, they would not work at all; he was quite certain of that. He thought the females would become excessively troublesome if they could not be flogged. They are much more difficult to manage than the men (p. 337).

When the slaves worked by task-work, they performed their day's work much more expeditiously, finishing it by two o'clock, and having the rest of the day for their own grounds. They did not work hard at any employment, but they will work harder when a task is set, or when they work for their own profit. He had known them carry loads for themselves which no compulsion could have made them carry.—They carry enormous weights to market sometimes (p. 338).

Mr. Scott is questioned as to the probability that the slave, in case of emancipation, would be willing to recognize the master's right to deprive him of the grounds which he had hitherto cultivated for his own use, unless he would consent to pay a rent for it. He doubts whether he would, but he had always known the slaves exceedingly averse to quit the spot where they had been settled: they would regard it as an act of spoliation\* (p. 339). Mr. Scott, however, is so impressed with the disadvantage of being under compulsion, that he thinks a slave and a free man are not to be brought into comparison at all (p. 340). The slaves know how to make use of money very

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\* The main condition of the problem to be solved is here wholly kept out of view. The slave, when free, is to receive fair wages for his work; but would he, in that case, consider it as a spoliation that the master should say to him "If I pay you fair wages you must pay me a fair rent for my land?" When was it ever known that an emancipated plantation slave claimed to have a right to occupy land belonging to his former master? The circumstance of the strong attachment of slaves to their domicile, which Mr. Scott affirms, is the very ground from which we should derive the conviction that the slave, if free, would prefer to continue to occupy his present house and grounds, and to work for his master, paying a part of the wages he would earn, for the sake of retaining possession of them.

well (p. 341). He would not deny that the Negro may, in many cases, be levied upon for taxes, and sold into a distant part of the island, from his family and from his provision grounds; but this seldom happens with sugar estates under mortgage, which most of them are (p. 342).

Mr. Scott admits that he had never contemplated any plan by which it would be practicable to secure the cultivation of sugar in Jamaica by labour for wages, because he could not conceive the thing possible\* (p. 342).

He is asked, evidently with a view to abate the force of Mr. Taylor's evidence, whether he should consider a person's experience of two years and a half in the management of 700 Negroes, having, moreover, been upwards of ten years in the island engaged in other pursuits, as competent to pronounce a judgment on such a plan; and answers, very candidly, that though he might regard any such plan with doubt, yet "a man of observation may certainly gain a good deal of experience in two years and a half. He considers, however, Mr. Taylor's plan to be quite chimerical (p. 345---347). His reasons for this conclusion will be found to be of a kind very naturally to be looked for in a man who had never contemplated the subject before; they cut both ways. He thinks that, if the emancipated slaves had grounds of their own, they could not be depended upon for labour; and if their labour were paid for in money, no food would be procurable but from abroad; and yet he admits they might make more profit by cultivating their grounds than by working on sugar estates. He gravely doubts whether the two plans might not be combined of both growing provisions enough as they do now, and yet cultivating sugar for wages; and he strengthens this doubt by a vague reference to history. Sugar lands, this experienced planter tells the committee, are not convertible to any other purpose than sugar. He cannot deny, indeed, that they might be easily converted into pasture; but then, he adds,

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\* A gentleman is brought forward by the West India body, to represent their views, in a committee appointed to consider the measures most proper for effecting the extinction of slavery, and he tells the committee that he had never even *contemplated* the possibility of any such measure! Where can he have lived for the last ten years



cattle would be of no value if sugar estates were abandoned.\* The pens now rear more than the planters require. Sugar lands, he also admits, might grow provisions (p. 348, 349).

Mr. Scott says, confidently, that the Creoles in Jamaica increase, though the Africans may not; but his speculations on population and the theory of labour and wages, which he has evidently contemplated as little as he has plans of emancipation, may be passed over without any injury to his own cause (p. 350, 351). Being further questioned, he was led fully to admit that the slaves, being much attached to their present homesteads, would, if made free, be glad to pay rent for their present lands, and would be disposed to cultivate provisions to the full extent for which they could find a market, and when they had done that, and overstocked the market, they would gladly take wages from the sugar and coffee planter (p. 352).

Mr. Scott knew the maroons, and he admitted they were very well behaved, and required no strong police to keep them in order. With respect to the slaves, he also admitted that if nothing unreasonable were exacted from them they were easily managed, and patient and submissive, although there were ordinarily on an estate of 250 slaves only three or four white persons to govern them and maintain order. If nothing unreasonable is required, they are very obedient

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\* Thus we learn that in Jamaica cattle are of no value but to draw canes to the mill and sugar to the wharf! These are, doubtless, important uses. But is he not aware that in other countries than Jamaica cattle have other still more important purposes to answer? Is it of no importance to cheapen food? Admiral Fleming was obliged to pay a shilling a pound in Jamaica for meat which he could procure in Hayti for twopence a pound, while the people of Hayti were chiefly fed with beef. Did Mr. Scott never contemplate the effect of 330,000 emancipated slaves being fed with beef reared in Jamaica, instead of being fed with a few miserable salt herrings imported from abroad; or being shod, as in Hayti, with the leather made from the hides of the cattle that were thus eaten? In England, where there is a free population, cattle, he knows, is valuable as food as well as for work. Might it not be so in Jamaica? A sugar planter, like Mr. Scott, of 20 years' experience, has never learnt to think of cattle but for purposes of draught. His views travel only between the cane field and the mill house, and between the curing house and the shipping place. The pens, he says, breed more cattle now than the planters require. He never has meditated, for one moment, what a free population might require in the way of food.

and require no harsh treatment whatever (p. 352). This is an important feature in the Negro character.

Mr. Scott thought the slaves were better treated than formerly. The Creoles require less punishment than savage Africans, and are less frequently punished ; but he thought they worked as much and produced as much as ever. His own slaves received no education whatever. They went to church or chapel if they thought proper. The clergyman of Trelawney superintended the Negroes, if they went to him, and they did frequently go to him. When he first went to Jamaica he cannot say the parochial clergy paid any attention to the slaves : the Bishop made a change, and the clergy became more alert. The slaves he thought very imperfectly instructed indeed. The Negroes were mostly christened ; but it did not follow from this that they knew any thing of Christianity (p. 353).

Mr. Scott, though in charge for many years of 4000 slaves, and now a proprietor of 250, has no idea what is the cost of rearing a slave. He professes to know nothing of the progress of population on sugar estates and pens ; but, he thinks, if the Negroes were educated and civilized they would become more moral and increase faster (p. 354).

Mr. Scott however thought it possible that Negroes might be over educated, though certainly he admitted they were not so as yet, nor likely to be so for some time to come (p. 355).

There is now, he thinks, scarcely any profit at all from West India property ; on the contrary, proprietors, in many instances, are getting deeper and deeper in debt. He attributes this to the low prices of sugar and rum, and these low prices he attributes to over-production : more is made than can be consumed. Being asked whether it is possible to keep up a system of over-production which can profit the planter, and whether land therefore should not be withdrawn from sugar cultivation, he assents to that, but says, the ruin of many must be the consequence.\* In case of emancipation land would become valueless : no one would take it. Being asked whether there is any country in the world where there is plenty of land to let and a number of people to be maintained where land did not let, " Yes," says

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\* If men will embark in hazardous speculations, and continue to pursue them after gain has become hopeless and loss certain, what can follow in any part of the world, or in any mode of employment, but ruin?

Mr. Scott, "but there must be a different description of people to deal with;" and yet he admits (quest. 5387) that Negroes are human creatures, influenced in the same way as whites. He admits too that the Negro is industrious in his own grounds, and raises food for himself and family, and buys comforts, and luxuries, and finery, though compelled to work so many hours for his master; yet now he has the advantage of being under control: if he were free it would be very different.—He is asked whether he thought that the desire of good food, and fine clothing, and the luxuries of life, or the love of money, supposing a man to have earned some as a slave, would cease the moment he became free and had more time to indulge all these desires: he reluctantly, at length, admitted that it was not in nature that they should (p. 536, 537).

Mr. Scott being asked whether provisions, as beef, pork, butter, &c., might not be raised abundantly in Jamaica so as to supersede the necessity of importing them from abroad, replied, he thought not; they must still have salt beef, &c., as fresh beef would not keep.\*

He refers to his knowledge of history, and cites St. Domingo (where good beef, according to Admiral Fleming, is always to be had fresh at twopence per pound). He then dwells on the difficulties of increasing the quantity of provisions and cattle. There would be no "labourers except the sugar estates were abandoned." And yet Mr. Scott had before stated that the planters were dying of a plethora of sugar, and this notwithstanding; no labourers could be turned from that ruinous speculation to raise fresh beef at a fourth of the price they pay for wretched salt beef from Cork!! (p. 357.)

Cane-hole digging, Mr. Scott thinks, is not such tremendous work as might be supposed. It is not so hard as digging ditches, cutting down hills, or filling up ravines, as is done by English labourers; but then he admits it to be a little hotter in Jamaica, though the Negroes

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\* This is certainly one of the most extraordinary reasons ever given by man for voluntarily foregoing the use of wholesome fresh meat and butter, supplied from the daily market, and having recourse to Ireland for stale salted beef, and pork, and butter. Would he not himself prefer good fresh beef at twopence a pound, fresh from the slaughter, to Irish salted beef at sixpence or eightpence a pound, full, as it often is, of rotteness and vermin? And why might not such a daily market exist in every part of Jamaica?

do not dislike the heat ; and he admits, also, that the women of Jamaica dig cane-holes as well as the men : he does not say that in England they dig ditches, cut down hills, and fill up ravines.

He concludes his evidence by a statement of the clothing given annually to his 260 slaves. It averages as follows :---About four yards of a coarse narrow woollen cloth called Pennistones, and about nine yards of a coarse stuff made of tow or flax called Osnaburgh, and about two and a half yards of check or long ells ; and this is all !

#### V.—JAMES SIMPSON, Esq.

JAMES SIMPSON, Esq. was engaged in commerce in Jamaica for 24 years nearly. He left it in 1828. He had been the representative of many absent proprietors, being intimately acquainted with the island generally, and particularly with Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, and St. Thomas in the East, and a little with St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and Hanover. Mr. Taylor had been a partner of his for ten years ; and, though he visited some of his estates occasionally, Mr. Simpson was jealous of his designs and projects, and only allowed him to visit those estates where the immediate managers were prudent men, and where there was a high state of discipline. Mr. Simpson, however, admits that he did not take any pains to ascertain what Mr. Taylor's views and purposes were, and he actually knew of them, though Mr. Taylor was ten years his partner, only from hearsay. One project, however, gave him great alarm, a project which he learned, not from Mr. Taylor himself, but from one of the overseers, who, doubtless, had his own private reasons for disliking and distorting the project. The plan was that of "separating the sexes, and taking means to prevent their intercourse ; and locking up the women at night to prevent the men from having access to them"\* (p. 360).

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\* We cannot wonder either at the alarm produced by such a scheme among the overseers and attorneys of Jamaica, or at the absurdity of the exaggeration with which Mr. Simpson, without asking Mr. Taylor for any distinct explanation, has thought proper to bring it forward as a grave piece of evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons. Did Mr. T. mean any thing more than that which every man of common morality must desire—that marriage should be encouraged, and concubinage discouraged on plantations, and that, above all, the overseers



Mr. Taylor, it is admitted by Mr. Simpson, disliked Jamaica, its occupations, and society, and wished to quit them all and enter the church. Mr. Simpson opposed his retiring, and entreated him to remain. In 1827, however, Mr. Simpson altered his views respecting Mr. Taylor, and then urged him to retire from the house as strongly as he had before pressed him to remain in it. He even forced him to retire, and the connexion was dissolved\* (p. 360, 361).

Mr. Simpson had at one time under his charge from 7000 to 8000 slaves. He had, therefore, every opportunity, he conceives, of forming a correct judgment of the character and circumstances of slaves; and his decided conviction is that, generally speaking, nay, almost universally, with some exceptions, they would not work voluntarily for wages in the cultivation of sugar. He admits that the emancipated slaves, at that part of St. Thomas in the Vale called Above Rocks, do supply the markets of Spanish Town and Kingston with provisions, and that they do frequently carry them thither, a distance of upwards of twenty miles. There are, however, he affirms, intermediate market-places within every five miles, at which they may sell their goods; but he does not mention where or what they are, or give them any name.†

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and book-keepers should be positively interdicted from converting each estate into a brothel, and corrupting, by their facilities of intercourse, all the young women upon it, from the earliest age of puberty? Does not Mr. Simpson, in his conscience, believe that this was the extent of Mr. Taylor's non-intercourse scheme? and, if he does believe it, is his evidence fair evidence? It was a grievous mistake in Mr. Simpson to expect that his sneer against such a project would be received in the Committee of a British House of Commons with the derision with which it would have been listened to in a company of attorneys and overseers meeting at his dinner table in Kingston. It furnishes a melancholy exemplification of the state of morals and manners in Jamaica.

\* The time, therefore, of this change of feeling towards Mr. Taylor, on the part of Mr. Simpson, seems to have been the very time when Mr. Taylor and Mr. Wildman had resolved on conducting Mr. Wildman's estates on more humane principles than had hitherto governed planting concerns in Jamaica. (See above, p. 21.)

† This discovery, now first heard of, of intermediate market-places between Above Rocks and Kingston or Spanish Town, is not a little extraordinary. Mr. Simpson, as much stress seems laid on the circumstance, ought to have specified them more clearly, together with the order of the justices in session by which they

He is not aware of any emancipated slaves offering themselves to cultivate sugar on estates. Labourers are often wanted, but *they* never offer themselves. He is persuaded the time allowed to the Negroes for cultivating their grounds is ample, and that there is no necessity for going, and that few slaves do go, to their grounds on Sunday\* (p. 362, 363).

Mr. Simpson is next questioned about spell-keeping in crop-time, and he gives the same untenable account of it which has been already exposed, denying that the slaves keeping spell during the night are limited to six hours' rest in the twenty-four, in cases where the population of the estate only allows of two spells (see above, p. 33). The slaves, according to Mr. Simpson, are never exhausted by their labour. Dancing, and performing attitudes and evolutions, and festive nights, when he visited the estates, proved how little they had been exhausted by the labour of the day (p. 364).

Cane-hole digging seldom exceeds a third of the cane land in cultivation, and, in some cases, very little cane-hole digging is required (p. 365).

He is decidedly of opinion that Negroes would certainly not work voluntarily if they had the means of procuring food. They are naturally indolent, and would not be induced to work so long as by plunder or otherwise they could obtain the means of subsistence. It is very difficult to get them to work without some stimulus or other. The whip has been resorted to; but he had been anxious to discontinue its use: he tried to do without it, particularly on one estate called Albion, belonging to Mr. Robert Hibbert, of Chalfont, Bucks, having more than 500 Negroes; but he was forced to resume it, and made

have been appointed, and the name of the clerk of the market by whom its transactions are regulated; for there is a clerk of every *legally* constituted market-place in the island. And let him also state what population there is at each of these market-places, which occur within every five miles, to arrest the progress of the venders of provisions in their way to the markets of Spanish Town and Kingston.

\* The *West Indian* evidence to confute this statement is quite overwhelming, independently of what appears in the preceding pages. See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. ii. No. 41, p. 315; and vol. v. No. 92, p. 24. The unhesitating boldness of such assertions is altogether amusing.

so effectual a use of it for a time that he restored order and re-animated industry ; and now, he understands, it is laid aside. And yet he affirms that the Negroes do not work under the terror of the lash, even when they do not act under its impulse\* (p. 365, 366).

Mr. Simpson fully admits that the slaves not only work for their masters, but that they raise sufficient food to supply themselves and all the markets in Jamaica, and thus to buy ornamental clothing and articles of finery, and to acquire considerable property, even to the amount of from £200 to £3000 ; yet he despairs of being able to persuade them of the reasonableness, when they become free, of paying a rent for the use of the land, the master's property. The slave would consider such a demand as an outrage on his own property ; and, therefore, to expect him to work for wages, and pay rent for land, is a scheme wholly chimerical, actually impossible, utterly impracticable† (p. 370, 371).

Then, as to a police composed of the free people of colour and others, in order to preserve the peace of the island, he pronounces in the most positive and unqualified terms on its utter absurdity and impracticability‡ (p. 371). Against Mr. Taylor's proposal of sti-

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\* Was ever any thing heard from the mouth of a reasoning being at all to be compared to this evidence of the absolute master of the comfort and happiness of 7000 or 8000 human beings ? The Negroes, he affirms, will not work if free for any thing beyond mere food ; and even not that, if they can live by plunder. Yet they work so well at present on Albion estate, without the terror of the lash, that there is no room to complain of either their order or industry. Now what is the stimulus employed ? Is it wages ? He does not say that it is ; and it is evident that the stimulus of wages had never entered his mind at all as a means of exciting industry ;—for, when Mr. Hibbert's 500 Negroes slackened in their industry, he restored it, not by any such means : no, he restored it by the good old Jamaica way—he “ resumed the whip, and made some examples.” The cart-whip, then (but Mr. Simpson will not allow us to call it the cart-whip), or “ the driver's whip,” for ever ! This is Mr. Simpson's grand specific.

† Is this common sense and common consistency, or is it the mere raving of inveterate and incurable prejudice ?

‡ Mr. Simpson evidently had it in view by this answer to stultify his old friend and partner Mr. Taylor ; but it so happens that he has stultified along with him the Council and Assembly of Jamaica ; for, without any debate, they have embodied into an Act dated April 28, 1832, and which we have reason to be-

pendiary magistrates as protectors he is equally decided ; it is wild and visionary.

Mr. Simpson is also strongly of opinion that the missionaries have no title to give any opinion of the character and disposition of the Negroes : knowledge so limited as theirs could afford no opportunity of judging either of the Negro character or of their treatment and their habits (p. 372).

He considers the Negroes in general as intelligent, and as to be worked upon more by kindness and conciliation than by compulsion ; but he does not think them intelligent enough to understand that they must work in a state of freedom for their own subsistence, or accept of wages for working ; so that emancipation would necessarily be followed by the abandonment of all cultivation, and therefore by the most pernicious consequences to themselves (p. 575).—If Mr. Simpson is himself more intelligent than the Negroes, he certainly has not the faculty of making his views of human nature either intelligible or consistent.

Mr. Simpson has known slaves who were instructed by the ministers of the church of England and Scotland, and he has given them instruction himself, and he has also attended Sunday schools, and he observed that instruction produced a great improvement in their general conduct, and a great superiority in all respects to others. He had also admitted on one of his estates a Wesleyan missionary, with whom he was satisfied. But he supposed, though he had no personal knowledge of any such circumstance, that religious instruction, injudiciously administered, might do harm (p. 376).

When Mr. Simpson left the island Sunday markets were being dis-

lieve has actually received the royal assent, a plan of police as nearly resembling that of Mr. Taylor as could well have been framed. We would advise him to consult that Act forthwith. It is the 28th chapter of the 2nd of William the Fourth. We ask no better, safer, and more efficient police for the purpose of averting all danger from emancipation than that which has been so wisely and providently planned and adopted by the local legislature. The work is done—the machinery is ready ; and it may be considered as furnishing a test for appreciating the respective titles of Mr. Simpson and Mr. Taylor to public confidence, both on this point and on the plan of paying wages to the emancipated slave for his labour, against which Mr. Simpson is equally furious.



continued, and Saturday markets more frequent. The slaves had thus an opportunity of attending worship on Sundays.\*

The slaves, whom he knew to possess as much as £3000, were in the habit of hiring other persons to attend to their concerns (p. 377) (a fact, however, not very consistent with other parts of Mr. Simpson's evidence). These hired persons work separately, and, of course, without compulsion. Slaves also often rent themselves of their master, paying to him a certain proportion of their earnings; this is frequently done by slave mechanics by monthly or annual payments; but he never knew it done for field labour.† Mr. Simpson could not recollect any instance of persons of colour possessing property acquired by their own exertions. He found, however, that the slaves, when improved by religious instruction, became more temperate and more industrious, and thus increased their personal property; and, he thinks, this effect of religious instruction is perfectly well known to all planters: they are deeply sensible of it.‡

Mr. Simpson says he was in the habit of giving to his slaves, for the purpose of religious instruction, as much in some cases as one day in the week. This he represents as having been generally done; and he cites the fact as a decisive proof of the universal desire to give religious instruction to the slaves (p. 380).||

Mr. Simpson denies most stoutly that there is any severity in the

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\* The utter untruth of this statement we shall take another opportunity of exposing more fully.

† And can this be wondered at?

‡ We shall never cease our astonishment at the evidence of this planter.

|| We must frankly say that we greatly doubt this statement. Mr. Simpson must certainly labour under some defect of memory. We, therefore, call upon him to name the estate or estates under his charge on which a day in the week was so given to the slaves for their religious instruction, together with the year or years in which such grants were made, and the person whom he employed, on the day thus appropriated, to convey to the slaves this religious instruction, and who, we presume, must have been some minister or missionary. We are willing to stake the accuracy of the whole of Mr. Simpson's evidence on the correctness or incorrectness of this one fact, when established by adequate proof. The original plantation journals must still be in existence; and we are willing to submit to their inspection as the test of its truth.

treatment of slaves, or that there is any difficulty in their obtaining redress for any well-founded complaint; but that they are very apt to complain on slight or no grounds. And, in illustration of this fact, he tells a long story of a complaint preferred, not by a slave, but by a white medical gentleman, against an overseer with whom he had quarrelled, and which, on investigation, proved to have had no foundation in truth. This story brings out incidentally a circumstance of some importance. It is admitted that formerly it was very possible for masters or overseers to employ force to subject the slaves under them to their licentious appetites. But, adds Mr. Simpson, such a thing would now be impossible: no man would dare to attempt it; or if he did the female, on repairing to a magistrate, would obtain instant redress\* (p. 381).

There then follows, in pages 382 to 390, an examination of Mr. Simpson on West Indian economics, in which we shall not attempt to follow him, because to us it is utterly unintelligible; in many parts, we can say with truth, most inaccurate; and totally at variance with notorious facts (p. 382—386).

The value of the clothing given to the slaves, Mr. Simpson esti-

\* Mr. Simpson may possibly have been acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Trew, the late Rector of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica. Let him, then, turn to the testimony of that gentleman, as he will find it in the 4th volume of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 76, pp. 107 and 108, for a contradiction of every part of his present apologetical statement; and he has only to consult the Index to that work for numerous proofs of the inaccuracy of the assertion so confidently made by him of the certainty of redress for even undisputed acts of cruelty. The contrary stands on official documents, which cannot be contradicted, and all of recent occurrence. Besides, let us ask Mr. Simpson to point out a single clause in any one act of the Jamaica statute book which, down to the year 1832, inflicts the very slightest penalty on any overseer who puts a female slave in the stocks all night, and works her all day in the field for weeks together; or who orders that same female to have her limbs exposed naked to the gaze of the whole gang, and to receive, upon her bared posteriors, 39 lashes of the cart-whip, and even to repeat these 39 lacerations the moment the former wounds are healed. We challenge him (and we permit him to call Mr. Burge, the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, to aid him in making out his case) to point out any such law.

mates at 35s. or 40s. a head. On turning to Mr. Scott's evidence (see above, p. 146), we find his account (not one of mere estimate, but of actual distribution) to be somewhat different. It may be thus stated :—4 yards of pennistones, 5s. ; 9 yards of Osnaburgh, 4s. 6d. ;  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards of check, 2s. : in all 11s. 6d. But let it be taken with all charges at 15s., and we shall still be very far below Mr. Simpson's estimate (p. 386).

One of the allowances Mr. Simpson states to be regularly made to the slave on an estate is about three shillings' worth weekly of sugar and rum, all the year round. This of itself would make for each slave £7. 16s. a year; and would amount to about 3 cwt. of sugar and 50 gallons of rum to each in a year. Can this possibly be true?—There must be some strange habit of miscalculation or some singular defect of memory about this witness. It must be admitted that Mr. Simpson has guarded against the charge of wilful inaccuracy; for he has told us (quest. 5756 and 5757) that it is utterly out of his power (though he has had charge of upwards of 7000 Negroes belonging to absent proprietors, and still, we presume, has charge, by means of his commercial house in Kingston, of a considerable number) to give information respecting the various items of expense attending West Indian estates. Of one thing, indeed, he seems to be quite certain, namely, that on the Duke of Buckingham's estate of Hope the Negroes have the opportunity of realizing about £125 annually for every three acres of land they may be able to cultivate on the 1000 acres of land attached to that estate, and appropriated to their use; so that, supposing the number of able slaves upon it to be one-third of its population, that population being, in 1830, 368, the annual income within their reach would amount to about £15,500. Is this quite credible?

There follows, at pages 391 and 392, a not very seemly attempt to put the credit due to the representations of Admiral Fleming in competition with those of Admiral Halsted and of Mr. Simpson; but, we apprehend, with pretty much the same success which we have already shown to have attended the attempt to discredit the statements of Mr. Taylor: but we pass over that part of the evidence as wholly immaterial to the real objects of the enquiry.

Mr. Simpson farther testifies that from the time he had taken charge of estates, which was about the year 1817 or 1818, he had

done all he could to encourage marriage amongst the slaves ; and that marriage was accordingly frequent\* (p. 394).

The emancipated Negroes employ themselves in different ways. They are seldom seen in distress. Then come some admissions of the comforts and luxuries that slaves are enabled to procure, but which they would not, according to Mr. Simpson, have the same facilities of procuring when they are free.—There is such an utter extravagance in supposing that a man whose seven days in the week are his own should have fewer facilities of accumulating property than the man who has only twenty-six week-days in the year and his Sundays, that we are at some loss to divine Mr. Simpson's end in giving such evidence. He cannot expect it to be received as true (quest. 5931). But what are those facilities ? The horses, and cattle, and waggons, and wains of their masters and of themselves. And this is said by one who, living in Kingston for twenty-four years, must have been the weekly witness how few of the slaves coming to the Kingston market had any means of conveyance but their heads, on which their loads were brought into town on the Sunday morning (p. 398, 399).

Mr. Simpson does not believe in the efficacy of wages to induce the slaves to work. He admits, however, that during his twenty-four years' stay in Jamaica, and with his extensive means of making experi-

\* The parishes in which Mr. Simpson states himself to have been chiefly concerned are Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, and St. Thomas in the East. Now we have parliamentary returns of the marriages which took place in these parishes of Jamaica, from 1808 to 1825 inclusive, the very period during which Mr. Simpson exercised his large powers ; and the results during those seventeen years are as follows, showing clearly that marriages cannot have been very frequent, and that in some parishes they have been remarkably rare, viz.—

Vere	containing 8,000 slaves	marriages in seventeen years	2
Clarendon	„ 17,000 „	„	3
St. Mary	„ 25,000 „	„	176
St. George	„ 12,000 „	„	161
St. David	„ 8,000 „	„	201
Port Royal	„ 6,000 „	„	27
St. Thomas in the East	„ 26,000 „	„	2643

From St. Andrew the returns are wanting for the last five years (see the Parliamentary Papers for 1823, No. 347, and for 1826, No. 353). The result in St. Thomas in the East is owing to the zeal of the Rev. Mr. Trew.



ments, he had never tried the effect of wages on the slave, nor endeavoured to ascertain whether he might not work for remuneration as well as from compulsion. This is a remarkable fact, and at least explains Mr. Simpson's prejudice against free labour. He says, cane-hole digging and the whole work of a sugar estate is far from laborious; for women perform it as well as men: and yet he is quite confident that Negroes, when free, will never be prevailed upon, by any inducement, to cultivate sugar (p. 400)!

Mr. Simpson is again examined about night work and spell keeping in crop, and again puzzles himself and the committee most completely. It is evident that Mr. Simpson never kept spell himself, or he would have been able to make the matter intelligible.

Mr. Simpson states the fact of a naval officer having gone on an estate as a guest, and having drawn up a long string of questions, which he addressed to one of the book-keepers to be answered, and the book-keeper answered many of them; and this fact is produced as proving the liberality of the planters of Jamaica (p. 402). Mr. Simpson, however, ought in fairness to have given the sequel of this affair, which the reader will find in a note below.\*

Mr. Simpson affirms (quest. 6011) that he, the attorney of 7000 slaves, never knew of *any* whip being used in the field in Jamaica.—This is certainly a most extraordinary assertion; and it proves most incontestibly either that Mr. Simpson has lost his memory or that he is determined at all hazards to whitewash slavery. The assertion, we

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\* The book-keeper in question lived in the year 1824 on Yarmouth, in Vere, an estate belonging to Lord Dudley, and was a very warm partizan of the pro-slavery cause. He wrote many papers in the Royal Gazette, during the years 1823 and 1824, under the assumed signature of "The Hermit in Vere," for which Mr. Simpson may refer to the files of those Gazettes at the Colonial club-room. A naval officer visited Yarmouth, and certainly gave to this book-keeper a long list of very pertinent questions, which the book-keeper undertook to answer. A copy of those questions is now in this country. They were brought hither by the book-keeper himself, who was deprived of his employment, and forced to quit Jamaica, for having dared to listen for one moment to such an application. His previous services to the pro-slavery cause availed him nothing; and he was actually persecuted to such a degree that he was forced to return to England, in consequence of the determination of the planters to refuse him employment. He convinced some planter in this country, we believe Mr. Watson Taylor, that all

take it upon us to say, is so manifestly untrue as of itself to render the whole of his evidence absolutely valueless.\*

## VI.—WILLIAM MIER, Esq.

Mr. MIER is a native of the United States. He possessed in Georgia 500 slaves; and, from his knowledge of the Negro character, is led to doubt whether they would be disposed to work for wages. Slaves are very seldom emancipated in Georgia. The Americans are very tenacious of this species of property. They value it more than gold itself. No publications relative to slavery are permitted in Georgia. Though half of the Georgia slaves are Africans, yet they increase at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum; and the increase continued to 1822. The labour of growing and pounding rice was particularly hard (p. 366—369).

this persecution was unmerited, and he was sent back by him to one of his estates, where he soon after died. And this is Mr. Simpson's exemplification of the liberality of Jamaica planters!

\* We need go no further to prove the utter falsehood of Mr. Simpson's statements on this point than the pages of the Royal Gazette, and other papers of Jamaica, during the session of the Assembly in 1826, when the disallowed slave act of that year was under discussion. It was not even proposed on that occasion that the *driving-whip* in the field should be abolished, but merely that the cat should be substituted for the cart-whip in the coercion of labour. "If we adopt such an innovation," said Mr. Hilton, "in the *established usages* of the colony, now that the Duke of Manchester is about to leave the island, the slaves will imagine that our conduct has been disapproved by the king, and that we have been compelled to relinquish the whip, and with it every means of punishment and restraint." Mr. Mair declared that the slaves preferred "the cart-whip" to every other instrument of punishment, as being more manly, switches, &c., being only fit for children. Others confirmed the fact of the preference of "the cart-whip" to switches, as in the case of that instrument there were limits, but not to the use of switches. Many of our readers will recollect Mr. Barrett's speech on that occasion. The whole of it turns on the use of the "cart-whip," which he declares to be a horrid instrument. Mr. Barrett is now in England, and he and Mr. Simpson may settle the matter between them. Mr. Simpson's words are, "I never knew of the cart-whip being used." This is a most complete stultification both of Mr. Barrett and of the Jamaica Assembly, if it be not rather a complete stultification of Mr. Simpson himself.

VII.—THE REV. JOHN SHIPMAN.

VII. The Rev. JOHN SHIPMAN, a Wesleyan Missionary.—The whole of this gentleman's examination turned on the wholly unimportant resolutions adopted by some of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica in 1824, and afterwards disallowed by their superiors at home (p. 405—416).

VIII.—THE REV. ROBERT YOUNG.

The Rev. ROBERT YOUNG, another Wesleyan Missionary.—This gentleman's examination is also chiefly directed to that which forms the subject of Mr. Shipman's examination. Mr. Young gives it as his opinion that the justice, mercy, brotherly kindness, and charity of the Gospel are unfriendly to slavery, and in their full developement must put an end to every system of oppression, and liberate every slave. He did not think that, with the knowledge the slaves now possessed, they could be detained in bondage much longer. Slavery is the parent of numberless vices; it corrupts both the master and the slave; the principles of Christianity are therefore directly opposed to it, and without abolishing slavery altogether he did not think its evils could be obviated. At the time that he was in the island there was perfect impunity for any outrage committed on a slave, if there was no evidence to prove it but that of slaves. He was five years in Jamaica, and left it in 1826. The flogging of females he regards as an outrage on all decency, directly opposed to every feeling of Christianity, and calculated to sour and brutalize the minds of all concerned.

IX.—WILLIAM SHAND, Esq.

WILLIAM SHAND, Esq., went first to Jamaica in 1791, left it in 1823, returned in January 1825, and quitted it finally in May 1826. The number of slaves under his charge was from 18,000 to 20,000, on estates in almost every parish in the island. He resided for a considerable part of the time in Vere, Clarendon, St. Andrew's, and St. Catherine's. He was long engaged in the management of estates and had therefore an opportunity of being acquainted with the Negro character. Mr. Shand begins with affirming that six days are quite sufficient to enable the slave to raise more than is necessary for

him for the whole year, so that he has twenty week days, three holidays, and all the Sundays, to do what he pleases with. The allowance of salt fish is about 450 or 500 barrels for 1230 Negroes.\* The old and infirm are generally attended to by their own families. If they have no families, the master provides.

Mr. Shand mystifies the subject of spell and night work in the same extraordinary way in which we have seen it already done by his brother planters; but we need not recur to that topic (p. 430).

Mr. Shand never saw any gloom in the slaves. They are more contented and better provided for than the lower classes in this country and Scotland, and their labour is much lighter. The great mass of emancipated slaves are very idle, frequently keep slave women, and are in a great measure supported by them. They generally remain on the master's estate, living with women upon it. He never knew any of them work in the field. He knew no instance of freed slaves working for wages. They live very much by pilfering their neighbours' coffee. A man of observation in three years may learn a good deal; but Mr. Taylor's plans were not much liked in Jamaica. He thought differently of slaves from all around him, and treated them differently. He was not, in Mr. Shand's opinion, competent to be a witness respecting the Negro's situation and character. He had not been regularly bred a planter (p. 431—434).

In many situations the Negro, after he has established a certain quantity of provisions, may rear food for himself by one day's labour in the year, and he knew of no situations where he might not do so by a week's labour or even less. A Negro, indeed, may almost subsist on what nature produces, with merely the slight trouble of collecting it. Every Negro may have all kinds of articles if he chooses to be industrious, but very few have the luxuries they might have. They would not be generally disposed to work in order to gratify artificial wants. Emancipated Negroes do not, either in Jamaica, or in St. Domingo, or in Trinidad, acquire industrious habits, nor are they useful and industrious. In Jamaica, some are tradesmen; some live with slave women on estates, and are extremely idle; and others by receiving stolen goods. If the slaves were made free, they would be exactly in the state of the Negroes of St. Domingo. He never knew any

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\* That is only, on the average, four or five herrings a week to each.



Negro work in the field after being made free : nothing useful is to be expected from them, and least of all sugar planting. Those who live in towns acquire no property : what they have has been bequeathed to them. He does not recollect an instance of any who have acquired property by their own exertions. If the blacks are made free, neither white nor coloured persons can remain there. Nothing could be done by a police to preserve due subordination (p. 434—437).

Several years ago the established church was doubled in Jamaica, and many places of worship, both of the churches of England and Scotland and of dissenters, built. He believes the motives for doing so were very sincere. The slave population of Jamaica have since made very great advances. He knew none of the missionaries, and was not for encouraging them ; some of them he believed to be bad men, though there may be good men among them. It is most impolitic for the slave to be of one religion and the master of another. He employed the curate of Clarendon, at £100 a year, to teach the people on his two properties and to read prayers twice a week. He does not believe it is much the practice to employ curates in this way, but he always told his overseers to bring up the Negroes when the clergyman chose to come. The planters are well disposed to give religious instruction to the slaves, but their means are very limited. The imposts on them are so heavy that they cannot afford additional expense. He objects, however, to any but oral instruction. If prudently conducted, religion would not be hostile to slavery. He himself gave no encouragement to missionaries, or to any but duly authorized teachers. Negroes are so prone to complain, that it was necessary to restrain his feelings lest mischief should follow from encouraging them. He found it scarcely possible to carry into effect any plan of task work. Sugar land is not applicable to any other purpose, and, as for converting it to pasture, there would be no demand for cattle without sugar to occasion it. The infirm slaves are generally provided for by their relations, who act very kindly to each other, and are willing to work for their support. If relations cannot support them, then the master supports them (p. 438---440).

When Mr. Shand was a book-keeper, he had to be on duty in crop-time for eighteen hours and a half. Even though in crop-time the Negro should work six hours of each night as well as all day, this does not equal the labour performed by people in this country, who work much harder than in Jamaica. The boatswain of the mill carries his

whip with him. Mr. Shand maintains that to work twelve hours of the day the whole year, and six hours more during crop, is lighter work than that of labourers in this country, who, in many cases, work longer than the Negro does even in crop-time. His own cart-man in this country works longer and harder. He has, it is true, no driver at his back ; and glad would Mr. S. be to get rid of the driver and his whip (p. 441).

Mr. Shand differs not only from all the witnesses opposed to him on principle, but from the West Indians who have preceded him, in his views of the Negro's taste for luxuries and conveniences, and the pains he would take to acquire them. He concedes such a taste to very few, and denies it to the mass. He thinks them not equal to the Europeans in intellect, and this because they are not inventors. Yet he admits they are quick in acquiring knowledge, and acute in making a bargain. He admits, likewise, that few slaves are content with the clothing given them by their masters, but purchase better clothing for themselves. Mr. Shand's effort, however, throughout his evidence, is to reduce the measure of the slave's ideas of comfort and convenience to almost the lowest point that can support life ; few do more. Contrary to the testimony of all his brother colonists, he says the slave does far less for himself than for his master ; taking twenty days in his own grounds to do the work of one. In short, if Mr. Shand is to be believed, we must bid adieu to all those tales of comfort and happiness by which the slave is raised so high above the British peasant, and view him as a gay, unthinking, reckless being, making no provision beyond the merest necessities of animal life. He admits there are, or rather may be, exceptions ; but such is the general view he labours to convey, except when surprised into facts at total variance with the theory that a Negro will do nothing from the desire of bettering and improving his condition, but merely from a desire to satisfy his hunger and escape the lash of the cart-whip. It would be endless to follow him in all his vague, tortuous, inconsistent, and inconsequential statements on this subject : we can only convey, as we have endeavoured, a general impression of their character and bearing (p. 459—461).

Mr. Shand says he is friendly to religious instruction, but he would have it given by the established church. He distrusts the missionaries, although he is acquainted with none of them personally. He has heard of their misconduct only from others ; he knows himself nothing against any of them (463).

Mr. Shand affects to know something of the statistics of Hayti, though it does not appear that he has visited it as Admiral Fleming has done ; but he states that the blacks in Hayti earn only 7*s.* a year each, for the only way of valuing wealth, according to him, is to divide the value of exports from any country by the number of its inhabitants ! He concludes, therefore, with singular acuteness, that they not only are not clothed with British manufactures, but with *any* manufactures at all. He believes, in short, that the cultivators of Hayti are in a state of the most degraded poverty that can be conceived, next to savage life (p. 464).

Is it possible for the blindness of ignorance and prejudice combined to go beyond this, which we presume will be dignified with the name of testimony ? After reading it, let any one who wishes to see the full force of the distortions of prejudice turn to the evidence of Admiral Fleming respecting Hayti (see above, p. 95).

Mr. Shand, who has made his fortune by being the attorney of absentee proprietors, pleads for the profitableness of absenteeism, and thinks an owner may gain by living on one side of the Atlantic, and leaving it to an agent to manage his plantation on the other. The case of Mr. Wildman he considers an example of the danger of owners visiting and managing their own properties. A practised attorney, like Mr. Shand, would not have been guilty of the folly of preferring the comfort and happiness of the slaves as his first object, and the owner's gain as merely secondary. And yet he cannot deny the advantage generally of a man's managing his own concerns ; but he thinks the case of the West Indies peculiar. The business of a Jamaica agent requires a high degree of information, so that the fruits of such agency may be highly beneficial to the employer, notwithstanding the expense that may attend it, and the absolute freedom from all effectual control of the employer, arising from distance (p. 465, 466).

Mr. Shand says, he is himself at present the proprietor of 1200 slaves. He does not know whether they have increased or decreased, but he *thinks* they have increased on some properties and decreased on others.\*

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\* It must strike our readers with some surprise that this experienced planter, Mr. Shand, should be able to give no more satisfactory account of the progress of population on his own estate, and that, on that very point to which every man of the commonest feeling of humanity would look with intense anxiety, as the only

He cannot state any satisfactory reason why slaves should increase in the United States and not increase in Jamaica (p. 466, 467).

The drivers, who are slaves themselves, possess, according to Mr. Shand, to a certain extent, the power of correction (p. 469).

Mr. Shand admits that the time allowed the slave by law is only

sure criterion of the well-being and comfort of his dependents, he should scarcely be able to give a single definite answer,—nay that, even in matters on which a perfect stranger to his concerns might acquire information, he himself should be most miserably uninformed. What then must have been the state of information possessed by the proprietors of the 18,000 or 20,000 slaves who, during Mr. Shand's residence, entrusted him with their management? Before we conclude this note, our readers will have discovered our reasons for these remarks.

Mr. Shand says that he is now the possessor of 1200 slaves. In the month of March, 1831, the number he appears to have had in Clarendon (and he has not said that he has estates elsewhere), was 881, namely, on Kellett's 433, on the Burn 135, on St. Tooley's 206, and on Mammee Gully 107. Three years earlier, that is in March, 1828, the numbers on the same properties were, on Kellett's 464, on the Burn 151, on St. Tooley's 210, and on Mammee Gully 118: the whole number being then 943, exhibiting a decrease in these three years of 62, or at the enormous rate of upwards of 2 per cent. per annum. Now surely Mr. Shand ought to have known this. And there is not only this aggregate decrease, but there is a decrease of each separate estate, though he affirms there has been an increase on some of them. The decrease on Kellett's is 31, or nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum; on the Burn 16, or upwards of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum; on Mammee Gully 11, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum; and only on St. Tooley's as low as  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. What a dreadful waste of human life have we here! Had Mr. Shand's slaves increased at the rate of the slaves in the United States, or of the maroons in Jamaica, the number in 1828 of 943, in 1831 would have grown to 1012, instead of having sunk to 881, making an actual destruction of human life among this gentleman's Clarendon slaves of 131 in three years!! Now, after this, what reliance is to be placed on Mr. Shand's representations? He evidently can have no title to claim the weight of a single feather to be given to his evidence, or deducted from that of Mr. Taylor or any other witness, on the ground of his experience or local knowledge. And, as for his attempt to apologise for the decrease of his slaves, on the ground that some are Africans, he has only to turn to the evidence of Mr. Mier, which states that in Georgia, with a population half African, the slaves increased at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum, and yet that their employment was the hardest of all, namely, growing and pounding rice (see the evidence of Mr. Mier, p. 156).



26 week-days, with three or four holidays, in the year, besides Sundays. The master may sometimes give them a few more days. He admits that all sorts of necessary food may be raised in Jamaica, without resorting to any foreign supply. There could be no starvation or any want of food in case of emancipation, if people chose to labour. He never applied to any emancipated slave to work on an estate for wages. He is asked, since slaves, he admits, often labour voluntarily, why he thinks they would cease to labour when they become free, and his answer is that he really cannot tell, but such is the practical fact : he is sure few of them live by industry (p. 470, 471).

There are few slaves in Jamaica, however old and infirm, who cannot raise their own food ; and, if they should not, their relations help them, or, failing that, the master supports them (p. 474). Mr. Shand speaks of his having 1230 slaves. In what part of the island are the 350 placed who are over and above his 880 in Clarendon ? (p. 474.)

Mr. Shand preferred the English and Scotch church to the Methodists, for this reason, among others, that the Methodists teach predestination, and the Church of Scotland does not ! He knew nothing personally of the Missionaries, but he had heard much against them (p. 477, 478).

Mr. Shand had very frequently, on the complaints of slaves, dismissed overseers for misconduct, severity, and harsh treatment (p. 480).

The visionary views he attributed to Mr. Taylor were “ his fancying that he could manage the slaves in a different way from others, without using the whip or punishing them.” *In the present state of things* he doubted very much whether they could be managed, either for the advantage of the master or of the slave, without the whip, or some such means as the whip. It has been tried to do without it ; but it is found impossible to get labour without it, especially since the excitement caused by the discussions on slavery in England, which create discontent, and give occasion to punishments which would not otherwise be necessary. He thinks the excitement thus caused has increased punishments ; and he does not believe that any thing can now be done by the Colonial legislature to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, their excitement making increased severity necessary.

When Mr. Shand made the extravagant statements that a day in some situations, and in others six days in the year, were quite sufficient to provide food for a slave and his family, he must have had in

view an established plantain-walk of adequate extent. He entirely omitted, however, all consideration of the time required for clearing wood land for such a purpose, for digging holes, and for bringing and planting the shoots; and further, that a year of careful attention must precede his reaping any fruit from it, besides considerable labour afterwards in keeping it in order. All this he seemed to have overlooked. But, at the close of his evidence, we find him referring to the starvation and ruin which might ensue if the Negro were to depend on this easy mode of providing for his wants. "If the slaves cultivate that species of provision which is most liable to injury by a hurricane, the consequences would be very serious indeed, and the loss very great."

We conclude with very heartily thanking Mr. Shand, as well as Mr. Simpson and Mr. Scott, not only for their concessions and contradictions, but for the invaluable light they have thrown on the whole subject of West Indian plantership. They have done more for the Negro race in the space of a very few days than they ever dreamt of doing, and have much more effectually promoted the cause of that emancipation they so seriously dread than the stoutest anti-slavery witness who came before the committee.

#### X.—BRYAN ADAMS, Esq.

BRYAN ADAMS, Esq.—This witness is brought forward, we presume, in the hope of shaking, if not overturning, the powerful and convincing evidence of Admiral Fleming. He quitted the Caraccas in May 1832, after a residence there of about eighteen months. He had gone 500 miles into the interior and visited the finest plantations of cocoa, coffee, and sugar in that country. The finest he saw, Elisendas, is cultivated in coffee by 375 slaves. He is not aware of any estates cultivated by free blacks. One estate, Belmont, within three miles of Caraccas, has 50,000 coffee trees and fifty acres of cane land, all under irrigation, and more than 1000 acres of wood land, and there are upon it twenty-three slaves.\* The next question however is deci-

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\* It is obvious that Mr. Adams must have made some mistake here, and indeed contradicts himself afterwards about estates not being cultivated by free persons. The twenty-three slaves on Belmont could not possibly perform a tithe of the work upon it: 50,000 coffee trees would require 400 acres of

sive of the extent of this gentleman's intelligence ; for, being asked whether he knew of any emancipation of slaves having occurred at the Caraccas, he replies, " I recollect something about it ; but I do not believe it ever did take place " (p. 444).

Sugar is exported from the Caraccas in increasing quantities. He saw 2000 barrels come in from one estate, of 6 or 7 cwt., each for shipment to the United States ; it was very excellent sugar. He had been impressed with the idea that unless severity were used with the slaves they would not work ; but he found, on the contrary, that where no severity was used things went on better, and he instances Elisendas estate.\* He saw however a whip in use at Tapatapa, an estate of an Englishman, Mr. Alderson (p. 444).

He contradicts himself however about free labour ; for he says, those who have not labourers enough of their own hire peons and native persons of colour, who are hardly to be distinguished from the slaves. The native Indians are very industrious and very faithful. The slave possesses the power of demanding to purchase his freedom, or he may change his master. The soil is fertile and provisions very abundant. They have as much ground as they can cultivate, are clothed, and have a pound of beef a day. He does not think the present slaves would be disposed to work if emancipated. He thinks a general rising would follow emancipation. He afterwards frankly admitted that he was quite incompetent to speak about questions of freedom and slavery. He had not investigated them. He had seen numbers of labourers working on plantations ; but he never asked the question whether they were slaves or free. If the labourers had been chiefly free, they might have been so without his knowing it. He admitted that Admiral Fleming had been very diligent, and that he had access to the very best sources of information. The people of colour associate generally on good terms with the whites. The people of colour are generally the friends of order. On an estate which he

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land ; does he mean to say that twenty-three slaves planted, and weeded, and pruned these, gathered the coffee and pulped it, besides cultivating fifty acres of cane ? It is utterly impossible.

\* If he mistook about Belmont, as he evidently must have done, he may also mistake about Elisendas, and there may have been on that estate also only a small proportion who were slaves.

attempted to purchase, formerly belonging to Bolivar, there were a very few slaves working conjointly with free persons. They worked together without difficulty or confusion (p. 444—452).

#### XI.—MR. JOHN FORD PIKE.

This gentleman had been in Cuba at different times since 1819, but he had only been for two days in the interior, and he had no opportunity of knowing any thing of free labour, nor of the cultivation of the island. He had been brought from Wales all the way to London to give evidence; but he said he knew nothing of the matter (p. 452).

#### XII.—WILLIAM WATSON, Esq.

WILLIAM WATSON, Esq., had been in the Caraccas from 1810 to 1814. Estates were then cultivated partly by slave labour and partly by free. The free worked with the slaves when they were wanted, which was chiefly in crop time. He had known many instances where slaves were managed wholly by persons who had themselves been slaves. The managers of estates were mostly coloured or black persons, who had been emancipated. This was common in the Vale of Chaldo, five or six miles from the town. He has had no connection with the Caraccas since 1814. But while he was there he thought the free blacks were generally employed in cultivation, and that they were a better sort of people than he had seen in our islands. Great confidence was placed in them. The whole system of Spanish slavery is different from ours: it is much milder, and the consequence of this mildness is an improvement of character. He had no doubt at all that the blacks were, when well treated, susceptible of the same motives which influence other men. The most powerful stimulus in the world to a man is labouring to gain his freedom. In Louisiana the planters say that they get a great deal more work when they put the slaves on task work; and, if the stimulus of freedom were generally tried, and men were allowed to free themselves by their exertions, they would be much more industrious, and would not cease to be so when free, though, in a country furnishing easily the comforts and conveniences of life, many might relax when free. He noticed the slaves after emancipation generally at work, raising provisions and other things. In his time the estates had slaves enough to keep the fields



in order, except in crop time, when they called in free labourers. There was a very considerable free coloured population in the Caraccas, who were in general very industrious. He had been in Mexico, but had never seen any slaves there. The great mass of the population are a mixed race, and those of the Africans were deemed as industrious as the rest. They were not more degraded, or more idle, than the others. The people of Mexico generally do not exert themselves much. The stimulus of want could not be made very strong in that country. There was no import of sugar into Mexico, nor any export of sugar from it. A great deal of sugar is consumed in the country, and it is dear (p. 452—457).

### XIII.—HERBERT TOWNSEND BOWEN, Esq.

HERBERT TOWNSEND BOWEN, Esq., had been in Trinidad, but his attention was not directed to cultivation, or to the state of the slave population. He had nothing to do but with one plantation, and on that he did not reside; it was a plantation of cocoa, and coffee, and cinnamon, and cloves. He paid an overseer 400 dollars for managing, and he hired six or seven peons, but the speculation was not successful. The emancipated slaves there mostly employed themselves as tradesmen, or in raising Guinea grass, or provisions. It appeared, from the reports of the protector, that a considerable number of slaves had purchased their freedom. The peons were paid wages, at the rate of half a dollar a day (p. 457—459).

### XIV.—RICHARD GARRETT AMYOT, Esq.

RICHARD GARRETT AMYOT, the Colonial registrar of slaves, produced certain tables of population, to which we shall hereafter advert more particularly (p. 484, 485, and p. 519—522).

### XV.—SAMUEL BAKER, Esq.

SAMUEL BAKER, Esq., had visited Jamaica in 1816, and afterwards in 1817, and for a short time in January, 1832. He landed in Manchester, and went afterwards to the north side of the island. He thought the slaves much improved, since his former visits, in their clothing and comforts. He had thought them comfortable before, but now they were better dressed on Sundays. He talked with the head man of Dumfries estate, in St. James (an estate in the hands of

the trustees of William Fairclough, with 198 slaves upon it). This man had distinguished himself by defending the property in the absence of the whites, and Mr. Baker made him a recompense for his conduct. This man was reluctant to give any opinion as to the cause of the rebellion. He was a Baptist, and attended the Baptist chapel built in that neighbourhood. He expressed himself as comfortable and satisfied, and as not desiring any change. He gave Mr. Baker to understand, however, that the general feeling of the slaves was towards revolt, and that they could not be depended upon. Mr. B. also conversed with the Negro, a respectable man, who attended him as servant; but he could give no information, for the people had never left the place, but staid at home to defend it. The Negroes generally were sulky, and did not choose to answer his questions. He thinks that there was a general disposition in the slaves to be content with their lot, till the late excitement. The head man on Dumfries told him the Missionaries received certain sums from the Negroes who attended them. He paid for his seat in chapel, and also paid a macaroni, or quarter dollar, when he attended the sacrament: he did not say how frequently. Mr. B. had heard nothing of the part the Baptists took in the insurrection, except that it was called the Baptist war. He had never heard the slaves say any thing, good or bad, of the Missionaries. He had attended the Scotch place of worship in St. James, and found it well attended by decent, orderly slaves (p. 485—487).

The chief object of bringing Mr. Baker forward appears to have been to falsify the statement of Mr. Knibb that he had been employed by the custos, Mr. Miller, to examine some rebel prisoners; but all Mr. Baker could say was that Mr. Miller had not told *him* so, and that, from what he knew of Mr. Miller and his character, he did not believe he could have done so (p. 487).

Mr. Baker doubted much whether the slaves if free would work for wages. But he had no doubt that if left alone, and not excited, they would be quiet. The means of their obtaining information were much more general now than formerly, as many can now read. He saw twelve or fourteen executed; and there appeared in them a morbid determination to meet their fate. He thought it showed a purpose of taking any opportunity which might occur of gaining their freedom by force. Mr. Baker takes it upon him positively to deny that the slaves were influenced in their rebellion by the fear of being

transferred to America ; and yet he says he could get no answers from them. Then how was he to know their minds, so as to make this positive assertion ? (p. 489.)

Mr. Baker never even heard the rebellion attributed in any degree to the parochial meetings in the fall of 1831. But how should Mr. Baker hear of that, or of the transfer of the island to America, as causes of the rebellion ? The slaves, who were the best witnesses, would not open their mouths, and the whites would not, of course, accuse themselves either in the one case or in the other. He had heard of two murders by the blacks, and of fourteen white ladies having been violated ; but the ladies all denied it ! He never heard any effect attributed to Mr. Beaumont's motion on manumission in the Assembly. He was in the island in all, this last time, about three months, and during that time he visited Manchester, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James, Trelawney, St. Ann, St. Mary, Spanish Town, and Kingston. The improvements he alluded to in the condition of the slaves, since 1816, were increased luxuries, and a much better style of dress. Some have horses of their own. His servant had a horse of his own (p. 490).

Mr. Baker knew Mr. Manderson, a gentleman of colour, and of great respectability, a man of great intelligence and honour (p. 490).

He thinks the slaves are in a state of comfort, and, if their comforts were increased, they would be disposed to be luxurious and turbulent. As to time, they have as much as they want, and, if industrious, might be rich. As to the whip, good slaves should not have it, and never did have it ; and the bad require it. Corporal punishment might be put an end to without any great mischief to the slave, but there would be mischief to the proprietors. The idle will not work without the whip. The slaves have already as much comfort as they want : if they had more time, the active would add luxuries to their comforts, the others would not (p. 491, 492).

He did not perceive any strong sensation produced among the Negroes by the burning of the chapels. The Baptist Negroes in the towns were offended by it. He did not think they were in the country. The African Negroes are generally indolent ; but many of the Creoles are active. As they are improved by education, they improve in activity. He knew many men of colour. Whites now associate with them more than they did formerly. They are generally persons of

education and understanding. Many of them are fully competent to act as overseers on estates, and do so act. Some are quite as competent as any white men (p. 493, 494).

There was occasionally a talk, among persons meeting together, about throwing off their allegiance, on account of the general dissatisfaction with the oppressions of the mother country. He was aware of the resolutions passed in August and September, 1831. The Negroes must have known of them; and it may have added to their excitement. The people of colour, he thinks, would be disposed to go with the whites; but he does not believe *they* have any general wish to throw off their allegiance. The free coloured population would not be willing to subject Jamaica to the United States. They would not consent to be separated from this country; they are much attached to it. He had heard that about 100 rebels were executed, about 1000 killed, or missing, in various ways. He supposed about 100 might have been flogged. Five white persons, he believes, were about the number put to death by the Negroes. The women, who were in possession of the Negroes, have always denied having been violated by them (p. 495).

A great part of the respectable Negroes can read, and he conceives it is quite impossible to put a stop to the diffusion of knowledge among them. Fresh insubordination can only be prevented by a different disposition, and a change of principles, in this country: this Mr. Baker regards as the only hope; without this, the colony cannot be saved (p. 495).

The Negroes, who were executed, generally suffered in a very short time after trial (p. 497).

He was persuaded that much of the excitement among the slaves proceeded from irritating communications from this country. He does not, however, know any of the Anti-Slavery party in this country (p. 498).

#### XVI.—ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM, Esq.

Mr. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM resided in Jamaica from June 1818 to May 1832, and acted there as a solicitor, and was named in 1827 protector of slaves in two parishes. The protectors were paid by salaries varying from £70 to £250, and were appointed to defend slaves charged with criminal offences. He was employed for



St. Dorothy and St. John, and acted as a barrister would have done. His duty was to see that the slaves had a fair trial. He recollects the discussions that took place on Mr. Beaumont's motion in 1831. It produced some sensation among the slaves in St. Thomas in the Vale. He also recollects the concession of white privileges to the people of colour in 1830. He does not think that any excitement was produced by that, or by the meetings held in the different parishes in 1831. He does not believe that any excitement whatever was caused by the idea of being transferred to the United States: he heard of that now for the first time. He visited the disturbed districts soon after the insurrection. The impression made on his mind by conversing with the slaves was that they believed the British government had made them free, and that they were to be relieved from all labour after Christmas; and their finding the case not so caused the insurrection. When he saw them afterwards they seemed ashamed and sorry for what they had done. None of the slaves spoke to him of the missionaries; but he was told by an officer that he could always cause an excitement among a body of Negroes by mentioning the name of Mr. Burchell, the missionary, who they seemed to think had brought them into this trouble. What they said to himself was that they did not know what had made them rebel, but the devil must have got into their heads. He was impressed, as early as July 1831, with an idea that they had even then an expectation of being free after Christmas (p. 500). He thinks the plot was deeply laid, and he draws this conclusion from a conversation he had with Mr. Panton, a barrister, whose servant had committed suicide; but the connection of that fact with such a plot is very lamely made out.—He thought it very improbable that Mr. Miller, the Custos, should have authorised Mr. Knibb to examine the rebel prisoners in confinement\* (p. 557).

Mr. Dignum says that the law of slave evidence is now so altered, by the act of 1831, that an overseer may be punished for inflicting

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\* Surely nothing could have been more probable than that Mr. Miller, who is represented as a sensible man, and who was commissioned to obtain information about the causes of the insurrection, for the governor, should have employed that very person to confer with the prisoners in whom they were most likely to repose confidence.

even less than 39 lashes on a slave if he cannot show that an offence was committed by the slave adequate to the punishment inflicted.—If that were true, it would have been easy for Mr. Dignum to have produced examples, but he has not produced one; and till such examples are produced, duly authenticated, we shall continue to view the opinion of Mr. Dignum as a mere *gratis dictum* (p. 557, 558).

Mr. Dignum tells an absurd story in proof that the slaves did not desire freedom. He entered an estate with an armed force, and while surrounding the negro houses asked the inmates if they wished to be free; and they said, No. What else could they have said under such circumstances?

Mr. Dignum further gave it as his opinion, that to prevent any further insurrection it was necessary that masters should no more be interfered with by the government in the way of Orders in Council, or by discussions; in short that the masters should be left to themselves (p. 559).

Mr. Dignum admitted that in strictness of construction he had no right to interfere in the defence of slaves, as protector, but in cases where they were tried for capital crimes. He had no right to interfere for their defence in cases of plantation discipline, or cruel treatment, but only where slaves were tried for capital crimes committed by themselves. He had no right to interfere in any case arising under the 33rd section of the Act of 1831, which authorises overseers to inflict thirty-nine lashes. He had only seen one workhouse, and never saw a Negro punished there. He said magistrates appeared to him to be authorised to cite an overseer before them to answer for inflicting even less than thirty-nine lashes; and, if the offence were of a very trifling nature, the magistrate might say to the overseer, “ You may give thirty-nine lashes for aggravated offences, but you have over-stepped the law in this instance,” and inflict a fine upon him in consequence. He had known such cases, but he could only cite one, being the first overseer convicted on slave evidence. The man’s name he thinks was Ellis, and the trial occurred in November, 1831. He was overseer of Nightingale Grove (an estate of Lord Harewood’s). Mr. Dignum, however, was not present, and does not tell us whether the offence was his exceeding thirty-nine lashes, or whether the punishment might not have been cruel as well as wanton. The case ought to be called for with the evidence (p. 560).

Mr. D. had seen slaves at work, and had seen the driver give them one or two cuts over the shoulder to make them work. The cat was introduced in place of the cart-whip on some estates, but the slaves were dissatisfied with it; they preferred the cart-whip. The driver's whip has a stout handle, about two feet long; the lash he thinks is four or five yards long; the upper part is thick, but does not touch the Negro: it is the lash at the end which strikes the Negro\* (p. 501, 502).

#### XVII.—VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES ROWLEY, K. C. B.

Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES ROWLEY knows much of the West India Islands, and commanded on the Jamaica station from 1820 to 1823. He frequently visited the estates in various parts of the islands, and he did not find that any thing was at all concealed from him, any more than by a farmer in this country on paying a visit to his farm. In one case he had gone upon an estate and staid there all night, without being known as the admiral on the station, and he was much pleased with all he saw. He had gone also into the negro huts and found every thing comfortable there. He had no slaves himself, but he hired some. He offered his freedom to one man, but he declined it. He was a mulatto, who acted as his valet. Two negresses belonging to his brother had been freed some years before; and when he went out, in 1820, he sent for them to assist in the house till he could get servants, and they said they regretted having been made free, because they could not get work constantly. If asked whether the slave was happier than the labourer in this country, he had no hesitation in saying that, if he had been born to labour, he would sooner have been a black in Jamaica, than a white man in this country or any other. He stated this as the result of his own observations. There may be harsh treatment sometimes; but, taking all chances, he thought they were a much happier race than the poorer

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\* The reason of this is plain. The lash is the part which *cuts*. The thick part is chiefly of use to give its momentum to the cutting part. The whip altogether, including the length of the driver's arm which wields it, with the handle, and the thick heavy part, forms a lever of great power, which enables the small, hard, flexile lash at the extremity, to make its incisions, drawing blood from the buttocks, at every stroke, in cases where they have not been made callous by previous inflictions.

class in this country. He saw little of demoralization there any more than here, yet he would not go to a tropical climate for virtue; people are some wicked and some virtuous there as elsewhere. He does not think that, if emancipated, the slave would work for wages on sugar estates: no man of whatever colour would work hard in a tropical climate if he could live without it. A man who can get food enough at an easy rate will not be anxious for much more, if he remains in darkness; but if his mind is enlightened he will exert himself more. In general he thought the overseers attentive, the hospitals good, and the little plantations of the slaves well kept. They appeared to be a very happy race of men. He had seen runaway Negroes punished and worked in chains, but no cruelty inflicted. He never saw any thing to impress his mind that the treatment of the Negroes was cruel. He had thought otherwise formerly, but after having seen them he altered his view, and now he doubted whether they would be happier if emancipation were granted to them. He once saw a Negro man flogging another Negro severely, and he stopped and desired the man to be released, saying he would complain to the agent Mr. Simpson or Mr. Shand, and the overseer was dismissed. Being asked if he thought the cart-whip a cruel instrument of torture, he said that if it were laid on his back he should say it was uncommon torture; yet many seamen suffer more from the cat-o'-nine-tails. He admitted it was very bad that the whip should be inflicted at the pleasure of an individual, and thought it ought not to be allowed. Certainly when he was in Jamaica an overseer might inflict to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, without being answerable for it by law. When he compared the Negro with the English peasant he thought of apprenticeships in this country which were attended with as much harshness and cruelty as slavery. The slave might not have the same facility of redress by law as the apprentice; but, in the case of severity he had mentioned, the overseer, on his representation, was dismissed by the attorney. Had it been his lot to be born to labour, he should prefer the certainty of the black labourer for food, clothing, lodging, care, &c., to the uncertainty of the labourer procuring work, severity of climate, and other evils. He knew an apprentice might have his indentures cancelled if he were ill treated, but he did not know that a Negro might be emancipated if he were ill used (pp. 501—505).



Being asked whether he went on estates to obtain information respecting the Negroes, he answers, “decidedly not,” but to gain information as to working sugar, and general management, as he would visit a farm here. He thinks marriage is more protected in Jamaica than in England ! Being asked whether a wife or daughter may not be flogged by the overseer before her husband’s or father’s eyes, and whether he would prefer being a labourer on these terms rather in Jamaica than in England ; he said he had not thought, in making his answer, of wife and children, or any fine feelings about them, but about food. As to immorality and concubinage, never being guilty of these things himself, he made it a rule never to enquire into the doings of others. He did not think the Negro would work for wages if wages were given him : he could get enough by working on his own grounds, and he does not think it natural that a man, in a warm climate, should exert himself for more. With respect to the Negroes who worked at his pen, he admitted that he offered them pay for extra work, and, the pay being their own, they did it. (Now what is this but working for wages?)—The Negroes are a very cheerful people, much more happy than labourers here : that made him say he should prefer being a labourer there. He thinks Mr. Barrett has misnamed the driver’s whip, in calling it a cart-whip ; it is more like a postillion’s whip on the continent ; but, whatever be its proper name, Sir Charles adds, “decidedly the whip is a very cruel whip ; there is no doubt of that.” He knew many gentlemen in Jamaica, but he knew none more competent to give evidence than Mr. Shand and Mr. Simpson (p. 506—508).

#### XVIII.—JAMES BECKFORD WILDMAN, Esq.

JAMES BECKFORD WILDMAN, Esq., has three estates in Jamaica, with 640 slaves upon them. He was there in 1825 ; and in 1826 he went out again and staid two years and a half. When he went he found the slaves perfectly destitute of all religious instruction, but by no means inferior in intellect to the labouring classes in this country. They were particularly astute in driving bargains, and perfectly acquainted with the proper prices of commodities. Between domestics and field Negroes there was a difference ; but it was of the kind which exists between our servants in the house, and a ploughman or a girl taken out of a cottage. The first step he took was to give

them religious instruction. He watched its progress, and the effect far surpassed any thing he had expected, and was quite as satisfactory as any thing that could be found in this country. Their morals also have improved under religious instruction. When he first went out there was not one slave that was married on the estate ; by a letter lately received from a young man sent out by the Church Missionary Society as a teacher, there are only two living in concubinage. The change for the better from religious instruction was decided, and there was as great eagerness for it, if not more, in many instances, than he found in his own village in England. And not on his own estates only, but throughout the island, the desire for both religious and general knowledge is too strong to be eradicated. It cannot be eradicated. They will have it some way or other. If there were encouragement given to it, it would spread rapidly. At present it is not only not encouraged, but thwarted. There is a decided hostility to instructing the slaves in letters. Many will give nothing but oral instruction, which he regards as a farce and deception. An hour is fixed for visiting the estate to give oral instruction ; the Negroes may have a mile or a mile and a half to walk home ; the teacher gets them together slowly enough, and begins catechising them, but they have scarcely entered on business when the hour is expended, and away they go again. He regards it not only as wholly inefficient in itself, but as carried on by most unfit agents, by book-keepers generally, who are themselves living in the grossest immorality, and who thus bring religion into contempt.

To employ persons living in open immorality to inculcate morality is surely a gross absurdity. In the case of his own people the effect of instruction was very gratifying in respect to their exertions in the labour of the estate : it was all done in a gratifying way. Looking only at his own interest, and without any higher motive, the proprietor will best promote those interests by the religious instruction of his slaves. His first object was to do away with the driving whip as a stimulus to labour, and he found that a most valuable change. The whip was used, not as a stimulus to labour, but only as a corrective of crime : and he thought all proprietors might pursue this course with advantage, if they would only treat their slaves as Christians would naturally treat their fellow-Christians. The estates have certainly been less productive since he went out ; but for that he thus accounts :—The system, when he arrived, was severe to a degree that was quite

revolting and horrible, and, when he went to the other extreme, the Negroes relaxed altogether, and therefore at first little work was done; but, when they found that work must be done, though in a different way, they came into his plan, and it went on perfectly well. He effected this by talking to them, and making them understand that, if their work was not done, they must be punished for neglect of duty: and this lenient mode of proceeding had a great influence upon them. The hire of a field Negro in Jamaica is 3*s.* 4*d.* currency, or nearly 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling, a day. Now, what is actually given to the slave by the master is very little, as in fact he maintains himself by his provision grounds. Herrings are the chief allowance besides, in the way of food. All charges included, the cost of a slave to the master may be about £5 a head, besides the rent of house and grounds. This calculation includes the women and children. Hired labour is dear; for there is none to be got but that of jobbing gangs. And certainly a most miserable life is that which is led by those who compose such gangs. He tried the plan of giving allowances to his slaves for extra work, but he never could get overseers to enter heartily into the plan: the slaves were most ready to adopt it. His experience led him to say that they were quite disposed, while slaves, to work for money; but he was not equally convinced that they would do it when perfectly free; for then the stimulus to labour, which now operates, would be entirely lost. He talked with one of his head men on the subject, and explained the circumstances in which the slaves would be placed, giving up their grounds, and supporting entirely themselves and families. He shrunk back from the change, and this led him to think they would rather remain as they are than be free, if compelled to work. The impression on his driver's mind evidently was that he might lose all he now possessed, and lose, besides, the protection and friendship of his master, and gain nothing\* (p. 509—513).

The chief difficulty which Mr. Wildman had seen in the plan of wages was the want of a circulating medium. The only feasible plan

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\* The case could hardly have been stated quite fairly to this slave, if such was his impression. He was not led to contemplate the possibility of retaining his house and land, paying a reasonable rent for them, and having wages besides—and all this, as might be the case, without losing his master's friendship, as his landlord, though no longer his master.

that had occurred to him (for he had not looked to entire emancipation) was to bring the slaves into something like the condition of our labourers, but withholding the name of freedom, freedom implying in their view an exemption from labour. The admission of slave evidence has now been effected, which is most material; for the slave's life was in the master's hand before. He would totally put an end to trafficking on Sunday, and give him another day in lieu of it; for the master has now the whole seven days; and, if the slave does not work on Sunday, he starves. It would thus be in his power to keep the Sabbath. He would also provide a paid magistracy, it being absolutely essential that the magistrates should be wholly unconnected with the island. In that case the slave would get redress, which he cannot get now. The same should be the case with *all* judges, as the system now pursued of appointing planters to be judges is a mere farce. He would take away all power of corporal punishment from the master, and place it with the magistrate; and he would protect the slave from being separated from relations, or dispossessed of property, and make them in all respects like the peasantry of this country, except as to the name of freedom, being unwilling to break the link which now connects the master and slave with each other. Mr. Wildman's impression is that the only thing the slave sees valuable in freedom is exemption from labour; and he will be able to maintain himself on a piece of ground so easily that he will not be stimulated to labour beyond a bare subsistence,—a course to which he would be encouraged by the example of the low whites, and the free black and coloured classes also\* (p. 514, 515).

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\* We must here make a few remarks on these views of Mr. Wildman. In much of what he says we entirely acquiesce; but surely he sees difficulties where none really exist, if he deems that arising from the deficiency of a circulating medium to be insuperable.—But is Mr. Wildman quite correct in the view he has taken of the law as to slave evidence? He has not, we apprehend, read that law: he would otherwise have passed a very different judgment upon it. He is perhaps not aware that the present law on the subject, that of 1831, clauses 130, 131, and 132, are almost verbatim the same with the corresponding clauses of the Act of 1826, which was disallowed by Mr. Huskisson. Mr. Huskisson's observations upon it are as follows:—"This law appears to contemplate the admission of the evidence of slaves *in those cases of crime only* in which they are usually either the actors or the sufferers, *excluding the evidence in other cases*; a distinction



Mr. Wildman was then questioned about Mr. Taylor's management and its effects on his property. He complained of it, saying that Mr. Taylor was so carried away by his feelings and his scruples that great

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which does not seem to rest on any solid foundation." "The rule which requires that two slaves at the least shall consistently depose to the same fact on being examined apart, before any free person can be convicted on slave testimony, will greatly diminish the value of the general rule. In the case of rape, for example, such restriction might secure impunity to offenders of the worst description. The rejection of the testimony of slaves twelve months after the commission of the crime would be fatal to the ends of justice in many cases; nor is it easy to see what solid advantage could result from it in any case. If the owner of a slave is convicted of any crime on the testimony of that slave, the court has no power to declare that slave free, although it may exercise the power when it proceeds on other evidence. Highly important as it is to deprive a slave of any motive for giving false evidence against his owner, that object might be secured without incurring the inconvenience of leaving the slave in the power of an owner convicted of the extreme abuse of his authority." In these remarks of Mr. Huskisson, Lord Goderich entirely concurs. But neither of them pointedly notices the defect that the evidence of slaves is wholly excluded in *all civil* cases, and in all matters of wrong affecting their persons and property, and not involving certain crimes that are specifically mentioned in it. The whole range, therefore, of plantation discipline, not involving those specified crimes, is wholly excluded from the operation of this boasted law of slave evidence.

As it is of the very utmost importance that this subject should be fully understood, both as it respects the unintentional misapprehensions of such a man as Mr. Wildman, and the intentional sophistications of such men as Mr. Dignum and Mr. Burge, we will give the law as it actually stands in the statute-book at this moment.

"CXXX. And be it further enacted, That from and after the commencement of this act, upon any complaint made before a justice of the peace of any *murder, felony, burglary, robbery, rebellion, or rebellious conspiracy, treason, or traitorous conspiracy, rape, mutilation, branding, dismembering, or cruelly beating, or confining without sufficient support, a slave or slaves; or in any cases of seditious meetings, or of harbouring or concealing runaway slaves, or giving false tickets or letters to such runaway slaves, to enable them to elude detection; or on any inquisition before a coroner*; the evidence of any slave or slaves, respecting such complaint and inquisition, shall be received and taken by such justice of the peace or coroner; and on any prosecution in any of the courts of this island, for *any of the crimes before mentioned*, the evidence of a slave or slaves shall also be admitted and received: provided always, that, before such evidence shall be re-

loss ensued, and he should have lost all had Mr. Taylor remained; as, conceiving that slavery was a crime, he neglected to maintain due discipline: indeed, there was a total relaxation of discipline. The

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ceived, the justice of the peace, coroner, or court, shall be satisfied, on due examination had, that such slave comprehends the nature and obligation of an oath. And provided also, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the court from receiving objections as to the competency of such witness, or from receiving evidence as to the credibility of such witness, in like manner as they would receive the same as to free persons. And provided also, that no free person shall be convicted of any of the crimes aforesaid, whenever the evidence of any slave shall be admitted, *unless* two slaves at least clearly and consistently deposed to the same fact or circumstance, such slaves being examined apart and out of the hearing of each other, or *unless* the evidence of one slave shall be corroborated by some free person deposing clearly and distinctly to the same fact or circumstance, such free person and slave to be examined separately and apart from each other. And provided also, that no free person shall be convicted on the testimony of any slave or slaves of any crime or offence, as aforesaid, unless the complaint shall have been made within twelve months after the commission thereof, and unless the crime or offence shall have been committed subsequent to the commencement of this act. And provided also, that no free person, accused of *any crimes herein before mentioned*, shall be committed for trial, or required to enter into any recognizance to appear and take his or her trial upon the evidence of any slave, *unless* such evidence shall be corroborated by some other slave or free person clearly and consistently deposing to the same fact, being examined apart as aforesaid."

The next clause, 131, refers merely to technical matters of form, and the allowances to be made to slave witnesses, and the compensation to be made to their owners; and it is therefore omitted.

"CXXXII. And, in order to remove as much as possible any temptation to commit perjury by those slaves who shall be required to give evidence, be it enacted, that the court *shall not be at liberty* to exercise the power given by this act for declaring any slave free and discharged from all manner of servitude, where the owner of such slave has been convicted of particular offences, if *any slave* shall have been sworn upon the trial as a witness on the part of the prosecution."

The reader will here observe that this last provision debars the liberation of a suffering slave from his cruel master, not only when he himself is a witness, but when *any slave*, and consequently when 20 or 100 slaves testify to the same fact. We would further observe that now, for the first time, is the *branding* of a slave made penal by the law of Jamaica.

year before Mr. Taylor came into the management he had realised £2000; the year Mr. Taylor left he was deficient £1400. He remonstrated with him on the change; and his answers turned almost exclusively on the right or wrong of slavery (p. 515 and 517).

Mr. Wildman's own plan was, that, when a slave behaved decidedly ill, he punished him. He flogged only three, however, during the whole time he was there. One was a young man belonging to Salt Savannah, who absconded once for three days, and afterwards for a week. On his return Mr. Wildman talked with him, and told him if he continued thus to run away he would be of no use to him; and, rather than allow him to set so bad an example to the other slaves, he should part with him. The slave urged him impudently to do so. Mr. W. then had him punished with sixteen or seventeen stripes, when he begged very hard, and promised not to repeat the offence. The driver told Mr. Wildman that the young man was particularly quiet and well-disposed, and that he had doubtless been set on by the other slaves to try the experiment how far they might venture to go, in behaving ill, with impunity. Though the use of the whip, therefore, was practically discontinued, it was not extinguished, when crime was committed. The instances in which it was used (and he was thankful they were so few) was in cases in which the man would have been sent to gaol in this country by a magistrate. Mr. Wildman said that had he stuck to the law, which is not usually done either on one side or the other, he might have given, in each of these cases, 39 lashes. He had it in his power by law to give to the extent of 39 lashes, if any thing displeased him, even a look: that was decidedly the law. The

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Now we can have no doubt that Mr. Wildman will agree with us that the admission of slave evidence is most inadequately and elusively effected by this law.

We must wholly differ also from Mr. Wildman in thinking that all the slave sees in freedom is an exemption from labour. He cannot have given a correct account of the intelligence of the slaves, if this be true; for the slave himself, if he opens his eyes and looks around him, must see that no human being, whether slave or free, is exempted from labour. Let Mr. Wildman only read the evidence of Admiral Fleming on the Caraccas, Cuba, and Hayti, given above, p. 86—102, and he must see that, if he continues to maintain his present views of this subject, it can only be from his labouring under the influence of some unsuspected prejudice.

master was the sole judge when a man should be punished, and to what extent, provided it was not beyond 39 lashes. To that nominal number he was restricted by law, but persons went constantly far beyond the law. If a slave did any thing to offend his owner or overseer, even by a look, he might be punished with 39 lashes, and the owner was answerable to no one for doing so. The whip was abolished on Mr. W.'s estates as a stimulus to labour, but retained as a punishment for offences, on the principle that if a farmer in his parish in England had complained to him of his servant neglecting his labours, he would have sent him to the tread-mill for a certain time (p. 516, 517).

Mr. Wildman does not think that, if the slaves were free, any sugar at all would be cultivated, or that any labour could be hired for that purpose. He does not believe that degradation attaches to sugar cultivation on account of its being the work of slaves. The taunt is not that a man has, but that he has not a master on whom to depend.\* A free brown man, married to one of his own slaves, lives on Papine, and the slaves speak of him quite sneeringly.—There is the greatest possible distinction between domestic slavery and field labour. If a domestic slave is turned into the field, he views it as a great degradation; but the field labourer does not so view it. Before he came away he turned all his domestic slaves into the field, on purpose to do away the impression of any disgrace in field labour.—Cavaliers was inhabited by free people, who rented small portions of land, but who led very dissolute lives, cultivating a little coffee, to enable them to tempt the slaves on the coffee estates around them to steal it, and sell it to them; and, when the time came for paying their rent, they sold their crops, and were off, and did not return again. Their houses were inferior to those of his own slaves on Papine, and even to the houses of *industrious* slaves generally on other estates, though, on estates, some huts were worse than theirs. Their *ordinary* clothing was superior to that of the slaves; but, when the slaves put on their best, they were better clothed than those people. Their furniture was better than that of some of the slaves, but inferior to that of the head people on estates. The people of colour, however,

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\* Surely Mr. Wildman's philosophy is at fault here. He is misled by the circumstances of his own particular case, and the affection his own slaves bear to him.



in general are better clothed than the best clothed of the slaves; but the people in Cavaliers were certainly not so well off as respectable slaves on estates. The persons who resorted thither were probably servants, to whom gentlemen had given freedom on their quitting the island; and, being close to Kingston, and the land rich which they had an opportunity of hiring, it became a favourite resort of such persons. The free people on Pedro plains are much better off than the Cavaliers people: they have cattle. Those at Cavaliers keep much out of sight. They are less frank and bold in their manners than the slaves, which he attributes to their predatory habits. They had women and families with them, but he did not think they were married. They had no religious worship or instruction whatever. He endeavoured to establish, before he came away, both divine service and a school among them; the reports he has since received are favourable: and he has a confidence that they and their children will avail themselves of instruction, and will improve by it; but he was fearful of freedom without the restraint of religious feeling.—The people at Cavaliers mostly built their own huts; and the land was rented to them at about £2 an acre (p. 518, 519).

Mr. Wildman was decidedly of opinion that the slaves, on the existing system, could not employ Sunday in religious instruction. "They must employ it in their maintenance, or starve" (p. 519).

Mr. Wildman had stated that four slaves, whom he had tempted to work for hire as an experiment, had overworked themselves, and he was asked to reconcile that fact with his opinion that they would not work for hire when free: he replied, "The slaves knew they were compellable to work, therefore any reward given them was a boon for which they exerted themselves." He had tried this experiment, to see whether they would work for the inducement of gain: no threat or compulsion was used, and at the end of the day they were found to have overworked themselves. This was not the only experiment he tried. In other cases he gave money to have work done, and always with success. Mr. Wildman, notwithstanding this universal success of his experiments, does not think it a proof that the slave if free will so work. As a slave, a man must labour for a certain time, and any reward he can get is a bonus; but if free he may choose to work at all or not, as it pleases him. He had no doubt that the fear of want, if he could be made to feel it, would induce

him to work ; but Mr. Wildman apprehends that if made free, as he could support himself with a little labour, he would do no more than was needful to that end. He thinks, therefore, if a state of villainage could be substituted for slavery, instead of perfect freedom, he has no doubt it might be made to answer. His notion is simply this : If the planter could command his Negroes as the farmer can his labourers through the magistrate in England, the thing could be done. The cottager here may be compelled to work to support his family, and if he does not he is punishable. Now if the slave was in the same state, and his wants compelled him to work every day in the week as the cottager does, then the same system might be adopted there as here.

In crop time the practice is for the slave to be in the field and begin work before sunrise and to continue at work till twelve ; and to return to it again at two, and continue till dark. The practice on one of his estates, when he first went out, was to keep what is called the long spell : that is to say, one spell at the mill and boiling house continued to work there from noon on Monday, for example, till noon on Tuesday, when it was relieved by the other spell from the field that had been at work from day dawn in the morning, and then remained at the mill and boiling house till Wednesday at noon, and so alternately throughout the week ; so that there were thirty-six hours of continuous labour, and from ten to twelve hours of continuous rest, in each forty-eight hours. But on his other estates, where the short spell was kept, there were eighteen hours of continuous labour and five or six hours of rest, in each twenty-four hours. The long spell appeared to Mr. Wildman to be a very dreadful system, and when he discovered it on going out, he resolved to put an end to it ; but he found, to his surprise, that his attorney was actually ignorant of the existence of any such practice till he pointed it out and convinced him of it. That system was put an end to, and in place of it the mill was stopped every night at eight o'clock ; and when the sugar was boiled off, which took an hour and a half or two hours, the whole of the people went home ; and the mill began again at four in the morning, so that they might all have if they chose seven or eight hours' rest in the twenty-four. He did not consider this change as any loss to himself ; for it was plainly utterly impossible for human life to stand such long interruptions of rest, whether at hard work or not. It was wholly

incompatible with the health of the slave. He therefore put a stop to it ; but he was thwarted on all sides in his endeavours to do so, not only by the overseers, but by the slaves themselves ; for where the long spell had been established they preferred it to the short spell, which calls them up at midnight to divide the night work between them. They pleaded that, when called up at midnight to go to the mill, they were so sleepy that they were often late and so got flogged. But when Mr. Wildman explained his plan, which was to secure to them a continuous sleep of seven or eight hours in the twenty-four, they were glad of the change (p. 523—525).

Mr. Wildman mentioned that one of the disadvantages attending this protracted labour was the manifest injury to the health of the persons, among others, who fed the mill with canes : they got wet from the spurting out of the cane juice over them, and then at the end of their protracted labours, throwing themselves down to sleep without due precaution, they caught severe colds, the nights in the early part of crop time being excessively cold. He had seen this with his own eyes, and had even fed the mill himself to satisfy himself of the reality of the evil. Though well clothed he was wet, and should have been ill had he not changed his dress. He considers this as one great cause of the loss of Negroes on sugar estates ; and it is one of which it is quite impossible that any person who had to manage a boiling house could be ignorant. In this case what was gained in produce was lost in the life and health of the slaves.

He found this remission of night labour to be beneficial in another way. A very fine woman came to him to complain of her loss of children. She never could, as she expressed it, hold a child in her arms. When he quitted Jamaica the last time, this woman had got three children in four years. There were other similar cases. Indeed the slaves became far more prolific under the new system. Before he went out first the returns exhibited only three births in a year out of 280 slaves on Papine. The years that succeeded his going out and acting on this plan exhibit from nine to eleven births annually. In general the returns in Jamaica exhibit only the children who attain the age of twelve months, but the number who die before that age is very considerable, in spite of the utmost care. As for the losses by abortion, they are never reckoned at all. The necessity of night work, in order to working off the crop in time to take advantage of the

seasons for putting in the new plant, is such that night work is again resumed on the plan of double spells, or of dividing the night; but he has directed that, to obviate the evil of the system, the spell which has to take the duty from 6 to 12 at night shall not repair to the field in the afternoon; but have the period from shell-blow, that is from twelve at noon to six, for sleep, or any thing else they may choose (p. 524, 525).

In forming a police for preserving due order and enforcing industry, it ought to be kept in view that the blacks are much less apt to be jealous of authority exercised over them by persons of their own colour than by browns (p. 526).

Negroes will, like all other people, sometimes make frivolous or exaggerated complaints; but this is by no means always the case. He has known his own people severely punished when he has himself been on the estate, and has not heard of it for months, and then casually (p. 526).

Mr. Wildman had spoken of book-keepers being employed on estates as catechists; he is asked whether there are not catechists and clergymen sent out by the Conversion Society, and also island curates; to which he replies that some of the island curates exert themselves very properly in instructing the slaves; but others do not at all. The Catechists do not give lettered instruction, but that is only one objection to the system: it is inefficient in other ways; for, while it is oral only, the time allotted is so wholly inadequate that no benefit can be derived from it. He spoke generally, and of what fell within his own observation. He does not say there are no exceptions; there are clergymen in the island whose exertions are beyond all praise. The time allotted for instruction by catechists is almost universally *one* hour a week. He has known estates visited on this system, and he pronounces it to be totally inadequate; he saw no beneficial effects, no progress at all to justify what has been said of it. He knew of two estates attended by the zealous clergymen to whom he referred, which were not in the rebellion. On many estates the Negroes carried on the cultivation in the absence of the overseers (p. 527).

Mr. Wildman was then asked about a slave of his, named Eleanor James, who had been most barbarously punished by the proprietor of a neighbouring estate, but for which no redress whatever was obtained, nor any penalty incurred by any one. He laid the case before the Colonial



Office. (See the account in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. IV. No. 83, p. 317.) Mr. Wildman is quite satisfied a man may live a month on an estate and be as ignorant of what goes on there as if he were in England. He could only enquire of overseers and book-keepers. If he were to enquire of the slaves, it would be resented. He has himself gone upon an estate at the wish of the proprietor, and with the authority of the attorney, and been round it with the overseer, and yet failed in seeing the people. Without the employment of any particular caution, it is almost impossible for strangers to find out what is doing on estates. An attorney or overseer may most unquestionably exercise severe and tyrannical power without its being known to the public, even as far as to the sacrifice of Negro life. He had reason to know instances of this, slave evidence not being then admissible. (Mr. Wildman erroneously conceives, as we have shown, that there is any material change in the law of slave evidence as affecting plantation discipline.) From his own experience, he knows it to be perfectly absurd to suppose that a commander-in-chief visiting an estate, unless he took very particular pains indeed (and even then it would be difficult), could obtain any knowledge of the condition of the slaves upon it (p. 528).

Mr. Wildman's own slaves were perfectly quiet during the insurrection (*ibid.*).

He began his system of instruction immediately on returning to the island, after his first visit; but he was assailed in the newspapers as an enemy to the colony: he was told that if he meant to set fire to his own estate, he had no right to burn down those of others. The most infamous, ribaldrous, libels were published against him and his family: a more filthy libel was never published against an unoffending lady than one of them (*ibid.*).

He has had the most gratifying proofs of the gratitude of his slaves in their exertions by labour to bring up his estates from the low state to which they had fallen. The slaves on Salt Savannah voluntarily offered to give up their own time to repair the waste on that estate. When Mr. Farquharson, his present attorney and friend, took possession, the Negroes came to him in a body, and said they were ashamed and hurt he should see its condition; and at night they came to him again in a body, to say that they would give up their whole time till

the estate was put in order again; and since that time the work has been carried on to Mr. Farquharson's entire satisfaction (p. 528).

Mr. Wildman mentioned one instance of the extraordinary voluntary diligence of his slaves. They had become subjects of taunt in the neighbourhood—"There goes one of Massa Wildman's Niggers"—and some of them were made wretched by these taunts about their freedom and laziness. On one occasion, however, they had to execute some hard work in digging a trench between his estate and Pusey Hall, and it was allotted in equal portions to the same number of slaves of the two gangs. The overseer said to them, "You are called worthless; you will not work, your master having done away with the whip. The Pusey Hall people work with the whip. Let them see what you can do." They set to work in such good earnest that, before the day was out, the Pusey Hall people complained that the Salt Savannah people would kill them if they went on so.—The whip in the field is now disused on Mr. Wildman's estates. Though not used, it was still carried in the field while he was there. The driver, a very old Negro, begged not to be deprived of it, but promised that it should not be used; for he deemed its appearance necessary to keep up his authority. Mr. Taylor put it down entirely; and Mr. Farquharson, who has as great a horror of the whip as Mr. Wildman, has not resumed it. It is still used for crimes, but not for deficiency of labour; but he cannot tell what the understanding of the Negroes is upon that point. If a slave quitted the field, or did not perform his fair task, he was punished, but not by the whip; by some privation, or by confinement; but it was fully understood that the whip was retained, though in practice only used for crimes or offences. He thought, from all his experience, and the circumstances he had stated, that the Negroes were operated upon by the same feelings of gratitude and affection as other human beings. He still thinks, however, that, if emancipated, they would be unwilling to work; and this he attributes to the facility with which they could support themselves if free, to their natural indolence, and to the climate. He had himself worked in his garden with a stout Negro, who told him that, if he made his slaves to work as he had done, he would kill them all in three months: but it would have been utterly impossible for him to have gone on working in that way for any length of time. He has

known Negroes to carry loads to market which they could not be induced, even by force, to carry for their master ; but it was voluntarily done for their own benefit : and, in point of fact, it is true that the Negroes do exert themselves, with great energy, for the purpose of obtaining, not only food, but comforts and luxuries.

Mr. Wildman admitted that if the slaves, who had now only 26 days in the year during which to provide for themselves and their families, occupied themselves diligently in their own grounds, they would do so, supposing the number to be increased to 35, or any larger number ; nor did he believe that there was any limit to which it might not be extended with advantage, and even with increased energy on their parts, with a view to the acquisition of wealth ; and especially if their moral habits were improved by religious instruction. Of this he was so well persuaded that he should not feel the least disinclination, in the course of a few years, that government should proclaim freedom to all slaves. He saw no reason to suppose that there would be any difference in their conduct and that of manufacturers and artisans at home, except as religion, and as the means of providing for every essential gratification with less labour, made a difference. But he thought that, if emancipation took place in their present uninformed state, it would be the destruction of the slaves and of the island too. Four or five years might be sufficient for preparation, especially if a good example were set them, and they were not corrupted, as now, by the licentious lives of their superiors. The overseers now are generally not married men. At present married men are refused employment, simply because they are married. Married men meet with general discouragement from the planters. What the objection really is to employing them he cannot precisely say, but it is almost insuperable. The present profligacy of the whites is certainly very prejudicial to the interests of proprietors ; and why it is not put down it is difficult to say. In fact the system of Jamaica, from beginning to end, is so very corrupt that the moral instruction of the Negro is hindered by it. If the Negro is taught morality, he can point to his master and say, “ You tell me to do so and so ; but what do you do yourself ? ” He was of opinion, however, that the interests of the owner and of the attorney are often diametrically opposed to each other, and this is one of the sources of destruction to West Indian property. The cause of the preference given to unmarried men it is

difficult to assign : it certainly is not the expense. At the same time it is obvious that a dissolute attorney would not feel at ease where the overseers or book-keepers were living morally as married men. Many of the attorneys are said to keep women on every estate they go to ; but he does not say this of his own knowledge. There are many cases in which, independently of this, the interests of attorneys and owners are directly at variance. Attorneys are often paid according to the returns they make ; and they may not care one penny if it be made by the sacrifice of human life. He does not believe that a better system prevailed, even when there were proprietors, married men, residing in the island. In fact, all the young men who go out to Jamaica, go out there under the idea of again returning to England : and they also know that they may at any time be turned out of their situations at a moment's warning ; and that, while out of employment, they would be obliged to depend on the hospitality of neighbouring overseers ; and that, if deprived of that resource, they might be ruined (p. 530—532).

Mr. Wildman's plan of instruction for his slaves was as follows :—He established an infant school, and kept the little children there all day. The gang or class above them in age he took for two hours in the morning, and two hours in the afternoon. The second gang he took for one hour a day out of his (Mr. Wildman's) time, and endeavoured to induce them to stay one hour of their own time ; for, as they did not work for themselves then, it would be comparative rest being in school. Then the adults were under no regular plan of instruction, except on Sunday : but many of them would come during their mid-day interval, and also at night, voluntarily, for instruction. And this abstraction of time he did not regard as any loss to the owner ; and he was firmly convinced that, on that plan, at the end of seven years, the master would be no poorer (p. 532, 533).

One emancipated slave of his own worked for hire on his estate ; but it was the only instance he knew. He was acquainted with the general condition of the free blacks. He thought them increasing in wealth and prosperity, through the medium of their own industry. He had the same view of the condition of the free people of colour, except that they acquired more from gifts and bequests than the blacks ; for it is common for white men who have lived with women in this way, when they quit the island, to give them a house and



some property; and a great proportion of their property may have come to them from that source (p. 533).

Mr. Wildman could not venture to say what time it might take, under a system of active instruction, to prepare the slaves for emancipation. His own, he thought, were not yet fit, though he had been at work since 1826. The same pains had not been taken on other estates; indeed, few admitted education at all. When he said that five years might suffice to prepare the slaves for emancipation, he assumed that a plan universally adopted would be carried on with more care than an individual, thwarted at every turn, could take. Under existing circumstances, he was decidedly of opinion that no provision for instruction could be made effectual in any short time. He alluded to the objection felt to instruction on the part of the planters; and, even if that were overcome, he does not think that the population would be so changed in five years as to make emancipation safe. He considers that, before being exposed to the chances of such a transition, they should have a decided knowledge of religious principles and practice, and a habit of acting accordingly. He hoped by such means to counteract the temptations to indolence in a country where the necessaries and superfluities of life are so easily acquired, and the climate inclines to indolence. Mr. Wildman conceives also that a slave has no adequate idea what freedom is; but the illustration he adduces to support the position is certainly as remote from any thing like a logical deduction as can well be imagined. He says, "When I came from Jamaica, a little girl, whom my sister brought home from the island, was astonished to see a white woman selling fish. They cannot fancy a white woman working" (p. 534).

If the resolutions of Parliament in 1823 had been followed up, as they ought to have been, by adequate means of instruction, Mr. Wildman would not have the slightest objection to the slaves being now declared free. Unfortunately no great increase of exertion in supplying the means of instruction in Jamaica has taken place since that time. The Church Missionary Society and the Sectarians alone have been efficiently active during the interval. By the established church, through the Bishop, little has been done. The Bishop has even materially impeded the progress of instruction. He says this, though he himself is a zealous member of the establishment, and much opposed in some respects to Dissenters. Instruction under the church of England

has certainly not advanced in any degree adequate to the expense. The bishop has unhappily thought it dangerous to interfere with the prevailing vices. He has not assailed the great immoralities he witnessed, and has deemed it necessary to temporize, and leave them untouched. In saying this he alluded to the whole population, white and black. When he has known instances of gross immorality, he has not set his face against them as a Christian Bishop ought to have done. Of all the teachers of religion in Jamaica the Sectarians are decidedly the most efficient. They give themselves up devotedly to their work, and in many instances have been eminently successful. Comparing the Sectarians with the established clergy, he knew of no case of immorality among the Sectarians. Of the clergy he could not say the same; of that he spoke without doubt. The Church Missionary Society's missionaries are far superior; they also employ respectable moral men of colour when they can get them. Their exertions emanate solely from members of the Church of England. They do not employ Dissenters. Their exertions have been very considerable and very successful (p. 535).

Mr. Wildman did not mean to apply what he had said of immorality to the clergy generally. But he spoke of individuals both now and heretofore, and certainly the proportion of immoral men among them was greater than in this country. The clergy were by no means under the necessity of confining their pastoral care to the whites. Mr. Trew, of St. Thomas in the East, was most active, and the change he produced in the population of his parish was almost incredible. His system was to direct his morning service chiefly to the whites, and, after the service, he kept a school for the blacks, and for any who liked to come. The afternoon service was addressed almost exclusively to the blacks and browns; and, after that service, there was again a school. Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish the effect would have been very great. Once, when staying at Mr. Trew's house, five or six head men from different estates came, and, a report being current of an insurrection which was likely to involve St. Thomas in the East, he asked their opinion: they, one and all, said, "Fear nothing of the kind in this parish; we will not only not suffer our own people to commit any excess, but we will not suffer any slave from other parts to interfere with us." This Mr. Wildman heard with his own ears. And yet Mr. Trew drew more malice and envy upon him than any other man in the

island. He quitted Jamaica on account of his health. Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish he should not have had the slightest fear of emancipation as to its safety ; though he might still doubt the slaves continuing to labour (p. 536).

Mr. Trew, in his efforts to spread instruction, obtained the aid of many whites in his own parish ; but nevertheless the ill will he drew on himself was very general, and that was increased after the Bishop came out : for he used to hold up Mr. Trew as an example to his clergy, which made him a marked man, at the same time that he himself thwarted Mr. Trew in an extraordinary way. He praised him and his exertions in his charges ; but at the same time he was much opposed to Mr. Trew. Mr. Trew was assailed by slander, and met with opposition even in his own parish. He was even effectually thwarted on estates on which proprietors and attorneys authorized him to attend ; for a clergyman in Jamaica cannot go upon an estate in his own parish without permission, and the Bishop even restricted his clergy from doing so without leave ; so that it would have been impossible for Mr. Trew, or any clergyman, to instruct the slaves of his own parish : even if the slaves were willing to give up to him their two hours at noon, and he were to come to instruct them, the overseer might still absolutely refuse permission.\* Mr. Wildman thinks the class of instructors sent out by the Church Missionary Society and the Dissenting Missionaries much better suited to the work of instructing negroes than educated university men. The morals and doctrines of those missionaries he believed to be sound and good, and their conduct exemplary.

And yet he should decidedly prefer pious clergyman of the church of England if to be had, feeling that there is inconvenience in the want of responsibility on the part of Sectarians, and that a clergyman must, at least, be possessed of general education and character (p. 537, 538).

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\* The words of the Curates' Act of 1816 were express on this point : The Rectors and Curates were required to instruct the slaves who may be desirous to be instructed : "*Provided always that the consent and approbation of the person in possession of the estate or plantation to be visited be first had and obtained for that purpose.*"

Mr. Wildman has always understood that the greater part of the poor rate, raised in Jamaica, was expended on the whites.

Mr. Wildman being asked whether, in the conversation he had had with his driver about freedom, as mentioned above, he told him that, though free, he would still be at liberty to live on the estate, paying rent, but receiving wages, replied that he had not mentioned wages. He certainly thought that they could be made to understand that freedom was not an exemption from labour, but a state in which they should have the benefit of their own labour. He admits fully (and it is important to note this after the strong opinions expressed by Mr. Wildman as to the present unfitness of the slaves for freedom) that the slaves could be made to understand that continuing attached to their residences and grounds, and paying rent for them, while they received reasonable wages, they might thus live in ease by the exercise of moderate industry, and enjoy the blessings and comforts of life. He thinks certainly that the present state of things cannot continue long, as they are now, without proceeding from bad to worse. If the present system goes on, the Negroes, he thinks, will not remain quiet.

The punishments in use in Jamaica now are very cruel punishments. "The general system is to give them a certain number of stripes with a long whip, which inflicts either a dreadful laceration, or a dreadful contusion, and then they follow up that by a very severe flogging with ebony switches: the ebony being a very strong wiry plant, with small leaves, like a myrtle leaf, and under every leaf a very sharp, tough, thorn; and then after that they are rubbed with brine." He never himself saw it done: he could not have borne it; but he knew it to be practised in every part of the island. He had seen the persons of the slaves after they had been so punished, and has had to listen to the complaints of his own people, who complained wofully of it. They are struck a number of times with one of these switches, or rather bushes, which is thrown away when worn and another taken. Slaves are also punished in the bilboes in the most unmerciful manner. An iron fetter goes round the feet, and is made to run on a long iron bar, fixed on an inclined plane, to which a dozen individuals are often fixed. They are confined here all night, lying back on the inclined plane, which is a hard board, and let out in the morning to go to work, this kind of punishment being often continued for weeks together.



The punishments also in the workhouses are dreadful. He had never been in any of the gaols but one, and that was extremely filthy. It was that of St. Andrew, at Half-way Tree, near Papine. He had had occasion to commit a Negress there, and she was reported to be in so bad a state that he went to inspect the gaol, and he found it in a most filthy state, and the punishments little short of those of the inquisition: they were actually tortured there. The mode of flogging was to put a rope round each wrist, and a rope round each ankle, and then they were what the sailors call “bowed out” with a tackle and pulley. He never saw this performed, but knew that it was done from his own Negroes, who had been sent there. He complained to the custos and magistrates of the parish of these proceedings. The result was, that the block and tackle system was defended as a humane practice, as it prevented the sufferer from turning in his agony, and getting a blow on a tender part. When he went to examine the gaol, a Negro was called to lie down and show how it was done. A skin was stretched on the ground, and he lay upon the skin, and then this tackle was applied to him; and, though Mr. W. and several others were looking, yet when the rope was tightened by another Negro, the man who was operated upon gave a yell, which made Mr. Wildman quite start. The yell was not from apprehension; but from actual pain. He represented all this to the custos, Mr. Mais; but no notice whatever was taken of it at that time, which was just before he last quitted Jamaica (p. 339, 340).

Being further questioned as to his views of the effect of emancipation upon the slaves, he said he thought the Negro, though he would work, would not so work as to carry on the cultivation of sugar. A want of religious instruction was another obstacle. The Conversion Society, he said, had by no means been actively conducted.—He thought that, in case of emancipation, masters might be relieved from all responsibility as to the food both of old and young. The old people are now taken care of without the master, by the Negroes themselves. Old and young might be left to the operation of natural affection. The feelings of kindred, and the love of parents and children, he thinks, are as strong in the Negro as in the white. They even carry it beyond this, to those who came over from Africa in the same ship, whom they call shipmates, and always address with regard. There is no doubt they would support their sickly children and their aged parents. Their families now support them, with the exception

of the master's allowance of clothing, &c. When old and decrepit, and wholly incapable of labour, the master provides for them, the relations aiding. The propriety and advantage of emancipation, he still thought, would turn on the slaves' being instructed. He candidly confessed that he thought all profit to him as a proprietor would cease from that time. He admitted, however, that he might be mistaken in his expectations on this point. He certainly conceived free labour to be as cheap as slave labour; but he did not think that sugar would be cultivated by free labour, unless all the land could be ploughed—(and why not all ploughed?)—then cane might be cultivated; but not if the ground is to be dug, as now. The plough could not be applied, he thinks, to two-thirds of the island; but he does not assent to the injury caused to the land by ploughing and exposure to the sun. The digging of cane-holes is the most severe labour he knows, except, perhaps, felling trees with the axe. He would sooner dig an acre of hops than an acre of canes\* (p. 541, 542).

#### XIX.—THE REV. JONATHAN TYERS BARRETT, D.D.

The Rev. Dr. JONATHAN TYERS BARRETT is Secretary to the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro

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\* It is true that there is a great deal of mountain land in Jamaica where the plough could not conveniently be used; but there are very extensive tracts of level and fair lying land in that island, more than sufficient for all its present sugar growth; and we can have no doubt that there are in Jamaica at least a million of acres on which the plough could be made to move as easily as in England.

But the point to which we chiefly object in the generally able, luminous, and truly interesting evidence of Mr. Wildman, is the strong opinion he has formed that full and effective religious instruction should and must precede emancipation, in order to render that measure a safe one. Mr. Wildman will not suppose that we undervalue the extreme, the paramount importance of religion in all states and circumstances of life. But to affirm, as he does, that the influence of real Christianity must precede a man's restoration to the enjoyment of his natural, and civil, and even political rights, is a proposition which we find it very difficult to understand how any man so intelligent and so observant as Mr. Wildman should have permitted himself for one moment to entertain. Would he then propose that men's natural and civil rights should be restrained in proportion to their want of Christian knowledge and Christian practice? One effect of this would be that the masters in Jamaica would soon have to change

slaves. He has held the situation since 1822. He has corresponded with the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and received from them various communications. Before the appointment of bishops, there were nine persons employed by the Society in all the West Indies. Since that time they do not send missionaries or chaplains, but only catechists. One chaplain was sent to Lord Seaford's estates, but he died. The bishops are averse to having chaplains of the Society in their dioceses, as it caused a collision of authorities, and was not quite

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places with at least an equal number of their slaves. Besides, what man, or set of men, or what legislature, would Mr. Wildman entrust with the exercise of this vague and anomalous power of deciding the point when the influence of Christian faith shall have attained the measure that shall entitle a slave to freedom?—Look at the mighty masses which float along the streets of London, and of other great towns, and fill our villages throughout the length and breadth of this Christian land,—how many of these would Mr. Wildman reckon to have reached the degree of religious knowledge which, if he were the absolute arbiter of their destiny, would constitute their title to freedom, or leave them still to fetters and the whip? Look, moreover, at the state and progress of society in all ages, and in all countries; in the present times as well as in the past; in states highly civilized, as well as in those advancing from barbarism; in polished France, or in less favoured portions of the globe. What statesman or even divine has ever supposed that, however religion might advance the well-being of states and individuals, the capacity to fulfil the ordinary duties of civil life, the exercise of a man's own limbs and faculties, the admission to the rights of nature and the protection of law, were to be suspended on the efficacy of certain schools, and the success of certain preachers of the Gospel? Some West Indians, and we are sorry to say some bishops of the church, have wished to suspend the marriage tie, which from the creation has been enjoined by the Creator on the whole race of man, on their being able to understand the matrimonial service of the Church of England; but, if we understand Mr. Wildman correctly (and we should be sorry to do him wrong, for few men have a larger share of our esteem, and even admiration), his principle goes much farther even than this; and we might have slavery to endure for ever, if only the professors and teachers of Christianity shall be supine, or obstacles to their success shall be wickedly interposed. Surely, also, Mr. Wildman knows better than any man what indifferent lessons either of morality or religion are likely to be learned in a state of slavery; and that, though freedom may be, and too often is, abused, yet that, of all the impediments to the diffusion of the influence of moral and religious truth which are not common to the whole race of man, slavery is the worst.

compatible with ecclesiastical discipline.\* Dr. Barrett then delivered in several reports, remarking that the late accounts were scanty, owing to the hurricane in Barbadoes, and the rebellion in Jamaica; the communications at no time being copious. The persons now employed by the Society are lay catechists. There are about fifty in all the islands. These are appointed by the bishops, and the Society at home knows little of them. In Jamaica, some of them are book-keepers, and some are persons of colour. He knows little about them, and does not even know the principle on which they are selected. Infant schools, on the plan of Mr. Wildman, were recommended by the bishop, but none have been established by the Society, though some have by a Ladies' Society, under the Duchess of Beaufort. Dr. Barrett thinks the bishops have not generally complained of obstructions, but, on the contrary, have spoken favourably of the disposition of the planters towards instruction. He cannot tell the number of slaves under instruction in Jamaica, nor can he furnish any return. Marriages are stated to have increased. He does not know whether the book-keepers employed by the Bishop of Jamaica are moral men or not. He does not believe that the Bishop thinks of extending that system; Dr. Barrett says, he believes that reading is taught in all the schools of the diocese of Barbadoes, but not to the same extent in that of Jamaica.†

All this is sufficiently frigid and unsatisfactory.

#### XX.—WILLIAM BURGE, Esq.

Mr. BURGE merely gave in a paper containing an account of the expenditure in Jamaica for ecclesiastical or charitable purposes, amounting, for the clergy of all descriptions, to £23,600 currency; for presbyterian teachers, to £1206; and for a Roman Catholic Priest, to £200; besides £6000 for the Kingston Hospital, and about £8650 for free schools and charitable seminaries, chiefly intended for poor whites.

\* Thus the spiritual interests of the slave population are to be postponed to some ecclesiastical punctilio.

† The fact is that, in Jamaica, the slaves who were taught reading by the Conversion Society amounted, in 1829, to the mighty number of 210. Neither is it true that in all the schools under the Bishop of Barbadoes reading is taught. His own reports show the contrary.



XXI.—JOHN MACGREGOR, Esq.

This gentleman has never been in the West Indies, and knows nothing of them; but he has been in North America, and has written a book entitled “British America,” which contains a chapter about free Negroes, in which he gives an unfavourable view of the state of some of that class, refugees from the United States, who are settled in Canada; but, as it contains nothing which at all tends to throw light on the present enquiry, we pass it over in silence.

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We have now gone through the whole of the *oral* evidence taken before this Committee. There still remains, however, some documentary evidence to be considered. Of the population tables presented by Mr. Amyot, we defer the consideration for the present, until we have it in our power to exhibit a more full view of that whole subject than these partial documents would enable us to do; and, in the mean time, we refer our readers to the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 100, as containing a comprehensive view of the slave population of the British Colonies, wholly unaffected by the tables now before us.

We omit also the meagre details extracted by Dr. Barrett from the Conversion Society's Reports, as the substance of them is already to be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and there is nothing therefore to be drawn thence either new or interesting.

But we cannot pass over so lightly the remainder of the documentary evidence contained in the appendix to this bulky volume. One of them is entitled “FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR,” and contains “an extract from the examination of Annasamy (a native of Madras, settled in the Mauritius), by the Commissioners who visited the Eastern Colonies, to enquire into the means of improving those Colonies.” It is dated 16th August, 1827. We extract a few passages from this document (p. 588, 589).

“What was the condition of the slaves on the estate of Bon Espoir, when you purchased it in 1822?—Many of them were in bad health. Did they appear to have been hard worked?—It appeared to me that they had; but I do not know the fact, as I had not been on the estate before I purchased it. It appears that, between 1822 and 1825, there were fifty deaths on the estate, or one-sixth of the

whole number; will you explain the cause of this mortality?—I have stated that many of them were in bad health. Did you manage the estate yourself within those periods?—I did; but there were overseers (European and Creole). Have you been accustomed to regulate the quantity of work on your estate?—I have. What number of hours a day do the slaves work?—From half-past four or five o'clock in the morning till half past seven, and from eight till twelve o'clock, and from half-past one till seven o'clock, Sundays excepted.\* Do the women perform the same work that the men do?—Except the children and the pregnant women, they perform the same field-work. The women are not employed in the sugar house. Are women taken off work during the whole period of their pregnancy?—From the third month to the period of their delivery. How soon do they go to work after the child is born?—They perform light work after three months, making mats and such things, and after nine months they return to the pioche (hoeing). Do many of the slave children die?—I have more than eighty Negresses on the estate, and of those, not more than ten bear children; and I reckon about four children born in a year, and about two that may live to five years old. Then there has been a constant decrease on the numbers, from the excess of deaths over births?—There has.” “You are acquainted with the condition of the labouring class in India?—I am. Do you consider that the condition of the labourers in India is better or worse than that of the labouring slaves in this country?—It is worse here. In what respect is it worse?—Because in India the labourers are paid for their labour, even those that are attached to the land; I speak of those parts that I have known. They also plough in India, and here they work with the hand. Do the women labour in India as they do here?—In cleansing and transplanting, but not in ploughing. Has it ever occurred to you to cultivate your estate by free labourers from India?—I thought of it at one time; but I altered my intention.” “Do you conceive that it would answer to employ them upon a property where there were no slaves?—If they were treated well, it would. Will you explain what you consider to be the treatment which would be calculated to reconcile them to the employment?—They would need such treatment and indulgences as they are accustomed to in their own country, and I do not think they could expect to meet with them in this colony.” “Are you acquainted with the cultivation of sugar in India?—I have seen it cultivated, but the mode of preparing the sugar is very inferior. Do you consider that, by improved methods, as good sugar might be grown in India as is grown at Mauritius?—I think by the introduction of machinery and of iron boilers, and also by cultivating the sugar canes in a better way, that better sugar might be made in India. Have you an intention of returning to India?—I have; and it is my intention to cultivate sugar in India in the same manner that is practised here. Would you employ slaves in the cultivation in India?—No;

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\* Nineteen hours a day!

only free labourers. What part of India that you are acquainted with do you conceive best adapted to the production of sugar?—Bengal is best suited, but I think of first trying the cultivation upon the Coromandel coast, near my native country. What capital would you consider necessary to enable you to form an establishment for the cultivation and preparation of sugar in India, upon the scale of that which you possess in this colony?—If I select good land and well watered, farming it either from Government or individuals, I conceive that 50,000 rupees or £5000, would enable me to form a complete establishment on the same scale; and the profits would be very considerable, if the rents were settled not too high. Do you consider that the profits of your capital would be much greater than those you derive from your present estate?—They would certainly be much greater, as there would be profit and no loss, either from interest of capital invested in land or slaves, or by death of slaves. What do you reckon would be the difference in the cost of maintaining your slaves, and of maintaining hired labourers in India? If I buy a slave for 400 dollars, and as interest here is 12 per cent. per annum, the interest on 400 dollars is four dollars a month, and reckoning the food and clothing at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dollar a month, the expense on each slave is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  dollars; and I could hire a labourer in India at 2 dollars, or 4 rupees, including his food. Do you consider that an Indian labourer will do as much work as a Mozambique slave? The Indians have more skill and intelligence, and will do more work in their own country than the slaves.”

(Signed) *W. M. S. Colebrook,* } Commissioners of Enquiry.  
*W. Blair,*

The next document is entitled “remarks on the means of improving the system by which labour is exacted in the Slave Colonies, by Captain Elliott, R. N., Protector of slaves for British Guiana, 18th January, 1832.” We must be content with extracts from it, premising that we introduce them chiefly, not under any idea that the present brutal system of forced labour as it exists in Guiana is to be continued, even for a single year, under the very best modifications which Captain Elliott has felt himself at liberty to suggest, but that our readers may see the enormous extent of the evil, the cruel and grinding oppression, which the people of this country, through their representatives, are now called upon to redress, or rather wholly to extinguish.

“ *Guiana, January 18, 1832.*

“In the general remarks appended to the Report which I have to-day had the honour to deliver to his Excellency the Governor, I felt it necessary to abstain from entering into any explanation of the causes to which I attribute the *deplorable increase in the Punishment Returns* for the half year ending on June 30th, 1831.”

“The largely increasing Punishment Returns clearly prove that the actual system of coercion, extensively as it is used, is perfectly inadequate to ensure the completion of the quantum of labour, which it is loudly declared the slaves could easily finish, if they were disposed to make the effort; and a further consideration of the punishments recorded for non-completion of work, during the last eighteen months, must lead to the inference that at least a fifth of the work allotted has fallen short under the inefficacy of the present mode of securing its performance.

“Either this position must be admitted, or the painful conclusion will present itself, that the punishments have been inflicted to a great extent for the non-completion of work which circumstances of unfavourable weather and other causes of difficulty rendered impossible of performance.”

“It is not my purpose to contend that the slaves will work *regularly* for wages, and I am perfectly aware that regularity of work is absolutely necessary in the cultivation of the ordinary produce of these countries; but if they know that the power to coerce them be left, surely it is rational to conclude that they would rather choose to work industriously, with a hope to acquire profit and gain time, than they would perversely determine to work ill and late, to the exclusion of all chance of advantage, and under a strong apprehension of receiving punishment.

“A great love of money, a passionate admiration of dress and finery, and a remarkable proneness to imitate all the habits of expense of the whites, are the well known characteristics of the Negro race; and certainly such qualities present the most favourable means for powerfully seconding the efficacy of a safe and judiciously directed course of encouragement, involving the immediate and great modification and eventually the complete disuse of a system at once degrading, irritating, and inefficacious.”

“Considering the subject in this light, let it be supposed that each person who produced, at the end of every week, a certificate from the manager or overseer that he had been employed the whole of the week, and had each day completed the task allotted to him, should be entitled to his proportion of the value of the produce of that week’s labour. In the early institution of such a system, it is obvious that the payments should be very prompt, and, above all, it should be carefully insisted upon that no approach to the payment of wages by truck should be admissible; the amount should vary according to the strength and skill of the labourers, dividing them for that purpose into two or three gangs, according to the extent of the population and its state.

“To those who are employed in the more responsible situations, and in those parts of the process which require adroitness and attention, proportionably larger wages should be paid.

“Such a mode of regulating the scale of distribution would induce a disposition to deserve reputation for fidelity and care, and would beget an industrious inclination to acquire a knowledge of the more skilful branches of the business.



“Those who could produce certificates that they had performed *more* than their allotted tasks should receive payment, according to a just estimate of the *surplus* labour they had performed.”

After mentioning a few of the advantages which would necessarily result from this modified system of wages, Captain Elliott thus proceeds :—

“If the slaves resorted to their daily labour, impelled by the hope of acquiring profit, I am satisfied that, one day in the week taken with another, they would perform in the course of *six* days at least a *third* more work than can be procured from them under actual circumstances : and as soon too as they began to touch the means of extending their comforts, and enjoying the conveniences of life, by the honest efforts of their own industry, great and advantageous changes would be effected in the whole structure of society. Small retail dealers would find it worth their while to establish themselves in the vicinity of the large estates, and the proprietors would gladly encourage them to do so ; because it would have the effect of keeping their slaves at home, and enable them to direct and control their habits of expense, besides, in other respects, greatly improving the value of their properties. Villages would gradually grow up in the populous neighbourhoods for the location of tradesmen and rural artisans ; district markets would be established ; industrious competition would take place in all species of profitable occupation ; the price of labour would diminish with the price of provisions, and the whole machinery of civilization would fall into vigorous action.

“The present mode of endeavouring to insure the performance of labour is every day becoming more distinctly inadequate, and, upon the whole, when the utterly inefficacious nature of the system is considered,—when it is remembered that, under such circumstances, the rapidly advancing intelligence of the Negro must principally develope itself in an increasing dexterity, by all manner of means, to evade and defeat it,—I cannot refrain from declaring it to be no source of astonishment to me that the punishment returns for the half-year ending June 30, 1831, are so large as it has been my painful duty to record them to be. That they will continue to increase may be taken as certain ; and I am convinced I speak the sentiments of the most reflecting gentlemen in the country in saying that this state of things cannot continue to subsist. The slave has advanced beyond such a system of government, and the attempt to overtake and arrest him in his career by an increasing degree of severity, would be fatal indeed ; but, docile and forbearing, it would be a work of little difficulty beneficially to direct his energies and uses by the immediate and judicious substitution of better means.”—p. 590, 591.

“It is a great mistake to suppose that the respectable and reflecting portion of society in this country do not clearly perceive that the slave population is much

improved ; but perhaps the very greatest misfortune of slavery is its inaptitude to adapt itself to those changes which it is in its very nature to insist upon. The system stands still, while it forces the slave into a state of intelligence demanding a form of government of much more extended resource for his safe direction.—To yield any thing, it is said, is to abandon all ; but this is an extremely unsatisfactory ground for resisting the legal sanction, and rejecting the direction of improvement which it is impossible to prevent ; and, in short, to modify nothing in the shape of slavery, would be to manifest the semblance of complete power, risking, in reality, all the tremendous consequences of perfect weakness.

“ It is a source of bitter complaint in this country, that the constant expectation of legislation from England is calculated to produce the most unfortunate effects on the minds of the slaves ; and it is represented that the consequences of such a state of vague impatience on the one hand, and of alarm and consequent disinclination on the other, are calculated seriously to retard the progress of amelioration.

“ If all had been done and were still doing, which might have been effected by the proprietors themselves, with real advantage to their own interests, to meet the feelings of the country, so unequivocally expressed in Mr. Canning’s Resolutions of 1823, unanimously adopted by both Houses of Parliament, there would have been as little necessity, as there can have been little inclination, to legislate upon this subject at all.

“ I am convinced, however, that no thinking man of experience in the West Indies could deny, upon calm and deliberate reflection, that, if there had been no legislation at all on the subject of amelioration, the difficulties of this question, so far as they regard the state of the people, would be much greater than they are at present. The increased intelligence of the slave would have daily demanded an increasing degree of vigour to coerce him to work ; but consider the actual condition of this population, and then let it be fairly answered, whether such a state of things could have continued to exist without, long ere this, having produced some fatal and irreparable convulsion.

“ The necessity of ameliorating legislation of a progressive tendency has, unfortunately, been forced upon the government by the disinclination to legislate effectively with such a view on this side of the Atlantic. It is superfluous to say that there is very little disposition in this country frankly to accept these laws ; and the painful consequence is that the slave has not derived all the advantage from them which it has been the object of His Majesty’s Government to extend to him. Men read them carefully indeed, rather to cavil at, and with a view to evade, than to conform to them. However zealous His Majesty’s officers may be in all branches of the public service charged with their administration, it must be obvious that, in this unfavourable state of feeling upon the part of the proprietary, and with a slave population dispersed over a vast tract of country, the

means of insuring and insisting upon the observance of a body of law (necessarily very detailed in its nature) are small and slow of operation.

“Such legislation, however excellent it may be, cannot provide for every exigency in the relative transactions of master and slave; and it is difficult to doubt that the least omission, or dubious construction, until the point can be submitted to legal interpretation, will be made to press against the slave. Nay, in too many cases (the truth ought not be concealed), the very letter of the law will be executed in such a temper of irritation as will render it rather a source of inconvenience than of relief. Here then is the slave population clearly convinced of the benevolent intentions of His Majesty’s Government and the British public in their behalf, and perfectly sensible, on the other hand, that these intentions are frustrated to no inconsiderable extent by the feeling with which the laws are received and acted upon in this country. The probable consequence of this unfortunate state of things is seriously to be dreaded.”

“It is impossible to observe the actual condition and habits of the Negro race in the West Indies, even in the most casual manner, and to consider the state of public feeling in England on the subject of slavery, without being powerfully struck by the reflection not only that the necessity for a great change is ripe, but with how little cheerful co-operation immensely beneficial modifications, involving progressive and rapid advancement, might at once be safely produced.

“In conclusion, I cannot help expressing my conviction that, by the concession of a reasonable share of the profits of their own exertions to these people, they would in no long lapse of time have tranquilly and legally possessed themselves of a deep interest in the maintenance of peace and order, and in the increase of the wealth and importance of the colonies.”—p. 592, 593.

The only remaining document consists of answers returned by Captain Elliott to questions addressed by Viscount Goderich, relating to the treatment of slaves in British Guiana.

“1. At what hour in the morning is the daily task commenced?”

“The legal hours for *field* labour are from six in the morning till six in the evening, with two hours of interval allowed for rest and meals. The first signal of preparation is made ordinarily by a bell at four to half-past four. The time of departure from home depends on the nearness or remoteness of the field; but the daily task may be said to have fairly commenced at from six to seven, A. M. There is no habitual work done by the slaves before they set out for the field, except preparing and eating their breakfast.”—p. 594.

“2. At what hour in the evening is the work usually finished?”

“It would be futile to attempt to deduce,” says Captain Elliott, “any general average hours in the evening when the task of all the slaves is finished.”

But he goes on to state as follows:—

“When the whip was no longer allowed to be kept in the field, as a stimulus

to labour, it became absolutely necessary to substitute some other motive for the completion of work."

"In the absence then of immediate coercive stimulus [and in this point the amelioration has been complete, and the advantage to all parties convincing] the performance of labour by 'task' was the most obvious means of presenting a sufficient inducement to industrious application; and certainly, exercised as such a system ought to be, it is difficult to doubt that it would be alike efficacious, both for the prevention of punishment and the completion of as large a quantity of work as it is reasonable can be completed; that is to say, reasonable, considered with relation to the amount and strength of the population employed, and the extent of the soil to be maintained in a state of cultivation.

"It is certainly natural to conjecture that, for the successful institution of the performance of labour by task, the system should have been minutely explained to the slaves, and its advantages made obviously manifest to them. In short, it was to be supposed that the adoption of the system was the result of an agreement between the master and his slave.

"'The law,' under this view, would the master have said to his slave, 'allows me to employ you for ten hours in the field, between six in the morning and six in the evening, and it allows you two hours of that interval for rest and meals; now, would you rather that I should insist upon your employment for the ten hours the law has permitted without fixing any stated portion of work, punishing you if I were not satisfied with the amount you had completed, or, on the other hand, would you prefer to have a certain portion of work allotted to you, which, by reasonable vigorous exertion, you may complete in much less time than ten hours?'

"'In this last case, if you choose to work continuously, all the time that you do gain upon the ten hours allowed to me by law (and you need only triflingly encroach upon the other two hours to refresh yourselves from time to time) may be added to the time you have economised of your own, and thus, at the close of your work, you will have a large portion of the afternoon wholly for yourselves.'

"It does not appear that the adoption of the task system has been the result of such explanation and agreement as I have adverted to. I cannot discover that the work is performed by task because the slave has been led to perceive it was most advantageous for him that it should be so performed.

"After very attentive enquiry, it does not seem to me that any option was left to him on the subject. Certain portions of work are allotted to him, and he has been broadly told, 'I know you can do that quantity of work, and if you do not, you shall be punished.' This is indeed to give a task; but it is not the allotment of work accompanied by an obvious motive to encourage its completion; it is surely not the adoption of the task system in the manner the subject was alluded to by the Memorialists (connected with these Colonies) to the King in Council in the year 1825.



“The manner in which the slave will naturally regard the matter is this: can he complete the task in such a portion of time as makes it worth his while to work vigorously? If he can complete it by about 3 P. M., it is because in that case he would gain at least an hour upon the lawful period for his employment allowed to his master; but if the task will occupy him (the strength of one person considered with regard to that of another) till four, or perhaps five in the afternoon, what does he gain by such a system of portioning the labour? Where is his encouragement to endeavour to complete the work? It would be better for him that no fixed quantity of work should be allotted, but that his master should exact the ten hours of his employment in the field which the law has sanctioned, and that the slave should enjoy the two hours of remission between six in the morning and six in the evening.

“It is true that the quantum of the different species of field labour allotted to each person on sugar estates is nominally not very dissimilar; but is it always similarly judiciously modified according to the state of the field, the weather, the health, strength, and sex of the labourer? I greatly fear it is not.

“In the fact that the system is perfectly and successfully practised on certain estates, is to be found the most convincing proof of its complete efficacy; and I know that in those estates the great principle of the rule is, to take especial care that the labour of each day is proportioned according to all the circumstances demanding consideration. The task allotted to each person is such a quantum as it is quite clear can be performed by that person in eight, or eight hours and a half of reasonably vigorous labour; and the result of this simple and excellent principle is apparent in a diminished return of punishment, and a sustained, if not an increased return of produce.

“The task system, efficaciously practised, is the dawning of the production of sugar by the payment of wages. The master who pursues it humanely and skilfully finds it his interest, upon every account, to offer the slave the payment of an hour or two hours of the time allowed him by law for the employment of that slave, and, if this last finds that the work is so proportioned that he really can gain the offered price, he will be sufficiently disposed to make the effort; but in too many cases that offered price is unattainable, and therefore, of course, the effort is not made.”—p. 594, 595.

“The task must not be increased because the slave, by dint of industrious practice, comes to perform it sooner than he did at first. It is obvious that, if the strictest faith be not unfaithfully kept with the slave in this respect, he will be little disposed to work industriously.

“I should be glad to believe that such a case has not occurred; but at all events, if it has, it cannot be matter of surprise that such a practice of the task system has failed of success. The slave would be little inclined to work industriously if he felt that the early completion of his labour to-day would produce the allotment of a larger task to-morrow.”

“On those estates where the task system is practised as it seems to be *just* to the slave, and *advantageous* to the master that it should be practised, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day taken with another throughout the year) have completed their task in the field at some time before 3 P. M.

“On many estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day with another throughout the year) *leave off* their work in the field (task is rarely ever *completed*) some time between the hours of 4 and 6 P. M., and usually nearer 6 than 4.

“I will not close these remarks without observing that in a recent conversation with a highly sensible gentleman (a proprietor in this Colony), on the mistaken policy of allotting such large portions of work to the slaves, or at all events not attending sufficiently to the modification of it according to circumstances, he said to me, that he was so satisfied of the truth of that view, that whenever his manager complained to him that the people did not complete their work, he was persuaded, and always discovered, that more had been allotted than it was reasonable to expect the slaves would strive vigorously to complete. In fact, it appeared either that there was no motive for industry, or that it was not sufficiently encouraging.

“This gentleman’s return of punishment and return of produce are demonstrative of the truth of his opinions, and the advantage of his practice.”

“It must be admitted that there is no cordial disposition frankly to accept and execute such legislation, and the means of enforcing an enactment of this kind, which could not fail to be generally obnoxious, are small, and extremely slow of operation.”—p. 596.

“3. What is the ordinary length of the intervals of rest allowed during the day? and is that rest generally complete, or are there any duties to be performed either for the owner or for the more immediate advantage of the slave himself?”

“The slaves on those estates where the task system is properly practised take what rest they please in the field as it suits them, but, as they surely complete their tasks (one day with another throughout the year) some time before 3 P. M., they are always certain to gain an hour *more* than the time allowed them by law for rest and meals.

“The slaves upon most estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, probably enjoy about two hours of uninterrupted time for rest and meals during the period of their occupation in the field.

“It is almost the universal practice in this Colony to require that each field slave should collect a bundle of grass, and deposit it in the yard of the buildings, after the day’s labour be closed. This bundle weighs, on a fair average, perhaps about eight pounds, and it is probably most frequently collected during the course of the day’s work in the fields.”

“In allotting the day’s task to a slave, I think it would be fair to give him half an hour for the collection, bringing home, and depositing of his grass; pro-

portioning the agricultural part of the task so that it could be finished in seven hours and a half; and for the collection, &c. &c., of the grass, half an hour more.

The slave has of course to attend afterwards to all his ordinary domestic and culinary offices.

“4. To what extent is labour required by night? how many nights or parts of nights is the same slave usually employed, and during what part of the year is nocturnal labour in use?”

The law provides that the slave shall enjoy at least eight hours’ rest in the twenty-four.

In this country there is no regular time of crop. It occupies about ten days in every month, or about a third of the year. About twenty-four slaves are always about the works. The fire is lighted about four A.M., and extinguished about ten P.M. The slave, therefore, may enjoy eight hours of uninterrupted rest. Capt. Elliott alludes to the practice of having four or five people of the field during the night employed the whole year round as watchmen, and who are allowed no extra time either for preparation before the watch begins, or for rest after it is finished. The practice, he says, is not defensible, and ought to be prohibited (p. 597, 598).

“5. What is the average nature, amount, weight, and quality of the food allowed to plantation slaves, male and female, adults and children respectively?”

We know the schedule of the food and clothing required by law in Demerara; and it is miserably scanty (see *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. IV. No. 82, p. 294). “But,” observes Captain Elliott,

“It would be unjust to omit to remark, that the amount of the food allowed is, in general, less than the amount provided. Indeed I cannot help thinking that the slave has gained nothing by the enactment of this portion of the law. The proprietors of the large estates are generally liberal in these points, and their poorer neighbours are almost constrained to conform to their practice.”—p. 598.

He adds that much has been done to diminish the amount, and facilitate the performance of manual labour. Cattle have been substituted for men to tow punts on the canals. Rail-roads have been constructed for removing the megass from the mill, an alleviation of an extremely pressing species of labour, principally performed by the women, and frequently with injurious consequences. And other improvements have been introduced to alleviate labour; and credit is due to the humanity of those who have promoted these changes (p. 598).

Having now given to the public a faithful abstract of the voluminous evidence laid before the Committee of the House of Commons in the last Session, before we proceed to lay before them the still more voluminous evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Lords, we would beg to make a few brief observations on the present state of the Slavery Question.

That the abolitionists have fully established their case in evidence, no disinterested and candid man who reads the preceding pages with attention will venture to deny. They have shown, not only that the slaves will incur no risk of suffering want by emancipation, but that their speedy emancipation affords the only rational prospect of preserving the public peace, and of securing the permanent interests of the planters themselves.

That this view of the subject will not be shaken, but, on the contrary, will be amply confirmed by the result of the evidence, which, under far different auspices, and with far different objects, was laid before the Committee of the House of Lords, we take it upon us most unhesitatingly to assert. And to this result we should come, even if we were to confine our view solely and exclusively to the pro-slavery part of the case as by them exhibited.---A pamphlet, however, has just appeared, certainly the production of no feeble pen, which, meanwhile, may be perused by every man who feels an interest in this great question; and it will at least render the unavoidable delay that must take place in abstracting the whole of the evidence of the House of Lords, containing 1394 closely printed folio pages, less a subject of regret than it otherwise would be. And here the West Indians will have no right to complain, because, though the review of our anonymous author be *ex parte*, it is nevertheless an exhibition of *their own evidence* exclusively, leaving out of view the adverse testimony.

The pamphlet to which we allude, and to which we leave, in the mean time, the task of repelling the objection that we have produced only a part of the evidence brought before parliament, bears the quaint and questionable signature of *Legion*—and is entitled “A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Richmond, Chairman of the Slavery Committee of the House of Lords, containing an Exposure of the



Character of the Evidence on the Colonial side produced before the Committee.”—It is printed for Bagster, 15, Paternoster Row.

Now, we mean not to be considered as justifying either the style or certain expressions of this able and caustic writer; but what we mean confidently to affirm is this, that he has completely overthrown the whole weight and credit of the pro-slavery evidence brought forward in the Committee of the House of Lords; so that we may argue on the basis of that produced before the Committee of the House of Commons, without the slightest apprehension that any inference, which may be fairly deducible thence, shall be refuted by that of the Lords’ Committee.

If, then, we are right in affirming that the abolitionists have proved their case, and that colonial slavery, admitted to be a crime of the deepest dye, may be abolished forthwith without injury to the great sufferers by that crime, and without danger either to the public peace or, but by their own fault, to the persons and property of the planters, there can then exist no adequate motive for a day’s delay in proceeding to its extinction. Such delay, indeed, is to be deprecated, not more on account of the slaves than on that of their masters; the prolongation of the miseries of the former being only an increase of the risks, both as to life and property, of the latter.

The simple ground, however, on which we are disposed, and indeed can alone consent to place the question is this:—Colonial Slavery is in itself a CRIME of the greatest enormity, besides being the parent of innumerable other crimes. It is an outrage on every principle of humanity and justice, and a flagrant violation of the spirit and precepts of Christianity. From the moment that this, its real nature, has been recognised there could exist no plea for permitting it to continue for an hour, but a well founded apprehension of injury to its victims from abolishing it. This apprehension, however, the offspring, not of reason, but of mere prejudice, has now been demonstrated to be unfounded, and that with a clearness and force of evidence which cannot be resisted. What remains therefore for a Christian Government and Parliament to do but to pronounce its immediate and utter extinction, accompanying the measure by such wise and just precautions as may obviate the alarms of the most timid?

We are perfectly borne out in this view of the nation's duty by the often repeated and unequivocal declarations of not a few of his Majesty's present ministers :—

“ I consider,” says one who, though not actually a Cabinet minister, speaks on this particular point with the authority of one, we mean Lord Howick,—“ I consider the whole system of slavery one of such deep oppression, and iniquity, and cruelty, that, if I could be satisfied it was safe to emancipate the slaves now, I would say, ‘ Do so ; and do it at once ;’ and we will settle scores among ourselves afterwards, and determine in what proportion the penalty of our guilt is to be paid. But the victims of that guilt *must not continue for one hour to suffer*, while we are haggling about pounds, shillings, and pence.”

To this course, then, of taking immediate measures for the extinction of slavery, we can conceive but one possible objection on the part of the West Indians. It may be said that the examination of evidence in the two Committees was not completed at the close of the last session. But that examination, be it remembered, was wrung from the Government by the clamorous importunities of the whole West India body ; and, before it commenced, Lord Goderich had already, in his circular despatch to the colonial governors of the 5th November, 1831, adduced the most conclusive and unanswerable reasons against the necessity of instituting any such enquiry. But, now that the opportunity has been reluctantly conceded to the colonists of bringing forward the best evidence which the whole range of the West Indies could supply, and that the result has been such as we have seen, we cannot believe that any government or any parliament will listen to a single plea for a moment's farther delay on that score. There can be no real pretence for hearing farther evidence (Lord Goderich himself being our witness), but DELAY ; and therefore, on those who shall consent on that ground to renew so perfectly useless an enquiry, we must charge, before God and their country, all the awful responsibility that may follow such postponement. Neither the Government nor the Parliament, we are persuaded, will assent a second time to any such unreasonable proposition ; but if, unhappily, our expectations in this respect should be disappointed, the people of the United Kingdom will not be satisfied with the decision, and will regard it as

a virtual deviation from the numerous pledges so solemnly given on the hustings, at the late elections, and of which they will naturally demand a strict fulfilment.

Let the bill, therefore, which is to seal the death-warrant of slavery in every corner of the British empire, be brought in without any unnecessary delay, and let the irreversible decree go forth that that foul stain on the national character shall be effaced for ever.

When that too long delayed act of unquestionable justice shall have been performed, we shall then, with Lord Howick, deem it full time to consider, with every regard to equity, the question of the indemnities which ought to follow it.

*January, 1833.*

